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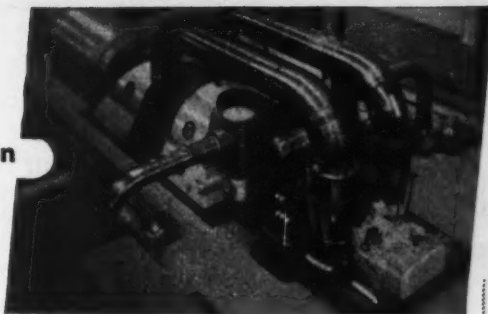
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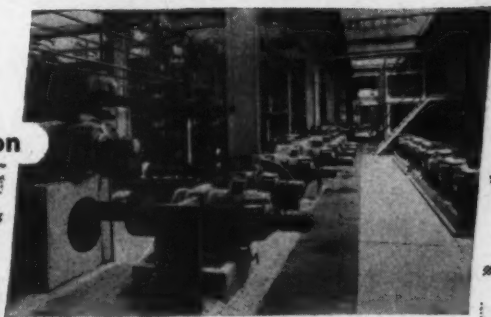
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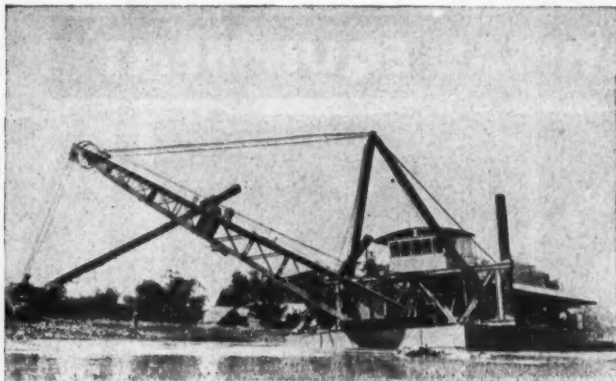
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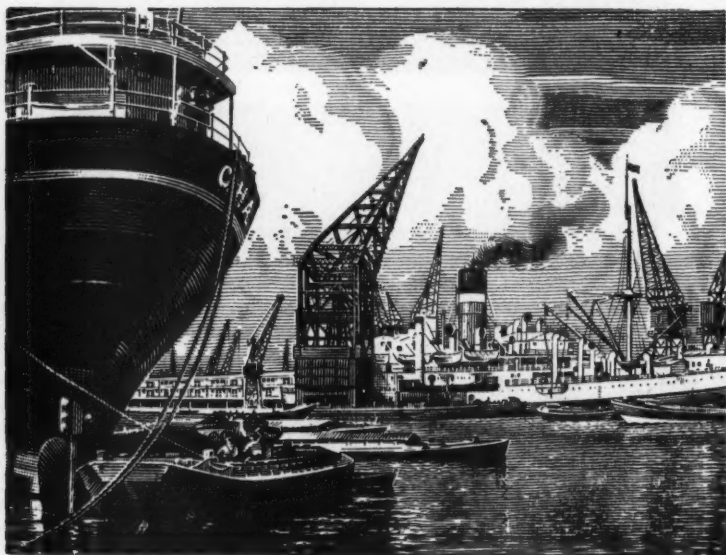
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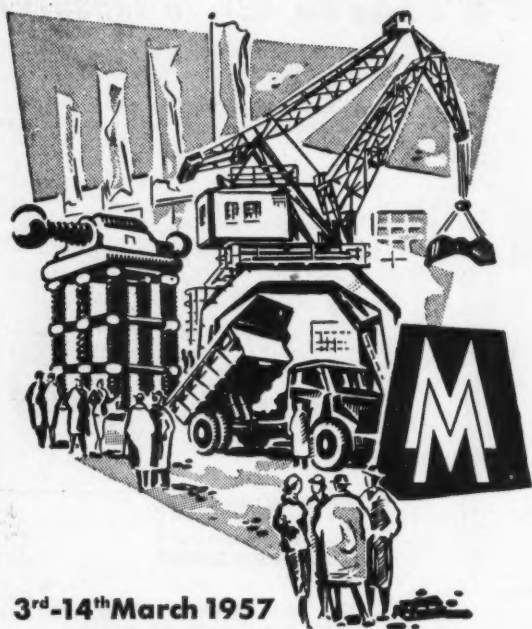
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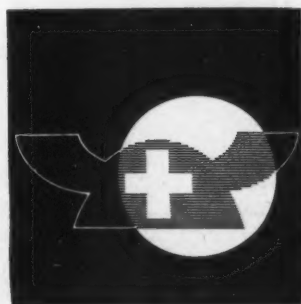
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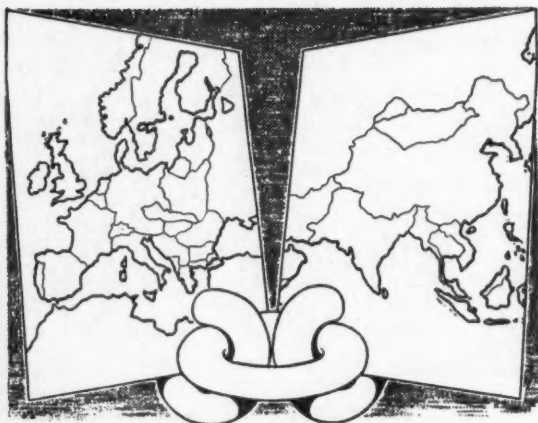
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Believing in the freedom of the press, this journal represents a forum where articles containing many different, and often controversial opinions are published. They do not necessarily express the views or policy of this paper.

EASTERN WORLD

London January 1957

DANGERS IN INDONESIA

THE present unsettled situation in Indonesia would seem to show that President Sukarno's view that the system of western democracy is not suited to a newly independent, heterogeneous, underdeveloped nation is in some measure correct. The free elections held in the country a year ago have produced a situation in government that is in danger of bringing about a breakdown. In making his views known President Sukarno undoubtedly had in mind the success of the Chinese experiment, the results of which he was able to see for himself on a recent visit to China, run under the rigid control of a national congress with an unassailable leadership.

This need not necessarily be the answer to the confusion in Indonesia, but it is becoming plainly evident that if Indonesia is to become a homogeneous nation, working towards progressive development, something other than the present method of administration must be found.

In its short life since independence from Dutch colonial rule, Indonesia has not fully achieved a unified identity. To the outside world all the people of the Republic are Indonesians, at home the people still tend to think of themselves as Javanese, Sumatrans, Moluccans—to owe allegiance to the province of which they are native. In these circumstances it is not difficult for leaders, both military and political, to rally provincial people to their side with persuasive arguments that the central Government in Jakarta is working and spending money first for itself, and second for Java, while leaving the wishes of the provincial people entirely out of account. No Government in Jakarta has ever successfully attended to provincial unrest. Failure to do something quickly will accelerate the trend, already apparent, towards disintegration.

The army revolt in Sumatra has crystallised the rumblings of dissatisfaction that have been making themselves heard in the provinces there for many a long month. The trouble is as much economic as political. Last year Sumatra contributed about seventy percent of all the foreign exchange earned by Indonesia with revenue from Sumatra's rubber and oil. The grievance is that the central Government has used a disproportionate amount of money on development in Java, while some has been embezzled by political elements in Jakarta. Sumatra is not the only part of Indonesia with such a complaint. Similar criticism has been heard from other provinces and territories.

These are valid complaints, but what can the present Government do about it? The results of the last general election, in which there were a plethora of political and religious parties, fragmented the political scene, and led to a coalition government made up of politicians who have different views and ideas. This has meant, in practice, a paralysis of administration and a consequent increase in graft and corruption.

On this scene the army is playing the role of the guardian of provincial interests. For reasons which are too involved to go into here, armies play an important and unwelcome part in the politics of Muslim countries. It is so in Indonesia, and an analysis of the background to the army's position in Indonesian politics is the subject of an article on page 13 of this issue. One of the most urgent tasks in Indonesia today is to have a political regime that is strong, stable, and incorruptible enough in all provinces to win back some of the popularity enjoyed by the army.

If the argument is accepted that the country is not yet ready for the exercise of democracy on the western pattern what is the alternative? A dedicated core of incorruptible persons headed by an equally honest and benevolent leader with a true sense of purpose would seem to be one answer. President Sukarno could, at one time, have assumed this role. His recent willingness to cooperate with the large Communist Party has now made many people, and certainly the army, suspicious of how he might use his power under such circumstances. It is still possible that the President will take matters into his own hands and dissolve the Cabinet in favour of a Government led by himself. Such a move would be likely to lead to further upsets and revolts.

All indications in the direction of a benignant leader point to one man. He is Mohammad Hatta, one of the founders of the Indonesian Republic, and a widely respected man. His recent resignation from the post of Vice-President was brought about by his disgust at the failure of successive administrations. It is a fact that he deplores the idea of doing away with political parties, but a ministry of all the talents under his leadership need not mean a dissolution of political parties.

There is an alternative to this solution. There are a number of the younger generation of Indonesian politicians,

not confined to any single party, whose new ideas in the adaption of political theory to the situation in Indonesia have not yet been tried. They may yet emerge to save both the country and the function of democracy.

No one can tell how the situation will go in Indonesia in the next few weeks, but the disintegration of the republic must be arrested, even at the cost of the dissolution of the present Ali Sastroamidjojo Government.

PRINCIPLES FROM PEKING

TEN months after the start of "de-Stalinisation" at the Twentieth Congress of the Soviet Communist Party, Peking in the last days of 1956 published a bold review of Stalin's merits and faults. Both Communists and their critics agree that the Chinese pronouncement is at once forceful and persuasive. Stalin, on the whole, is rehabilitated, and the 39 years' experience of the Russian leaders completely vindicated. The upheavals, physical and ideological, in eastern Europe and among Communists in the western world will doubtless now begin to settle down. Peking's emergence as a source of Marxist authority, fully equalling that of Moscow, is bound to produce important lateral effects which require careful attention.

Reading the document "More on the Historical Experience of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat" (the 15,000 word long summary of a discussion of the Political Bureau of the Chinese Communist Party), it is impossible not to be impressed by its dynamism. Detestable though Communism may be to a large variety of people, in this document are thoughts that bring to mind Plato's meaning of idea — self-activity manifesting itself in life and mind.

But the weighty defence of Moscow invites new questions, and it may be new difficulties, in other fields. To start with an obvious point, most Asians—from Communists to the proudest nationalists—may henceforth cease to regard Communism as an alien doctrine, purely European or Russian. It is possible for them now to consider that the Chinese have rendered it Asian. Even Mr. Nehru's stricture—that what Marx wrote was about conditions 100 years ago in Europe, particularly in Britain—may largely lose its force, because China has brought it up-to-date and to the doors of Asia.

In any case Peking has undertaken a task which by logic and precedent was Moscow's exclusive preserve, that of analysing and outlining policy in the new situation since the re-valuation of Stalin. China's spokesmen have come forward to assert that neither Marxist-Leninist fundamentals nor the doctrine of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat has been shaken by Soviet practice. Stalin was wrong, the argument goes, in thinking himself infallible. He was also wrong in his "great-nation" megalomania, and his other faults are enumerated as well. But with all this, he was the nation-builder, and it was largely to his policies that the credit should go for the world power that the Soviet Union is today. To Peking, Moscow is still the centre, if not the head, of the Communist camp. The torch of proletarian internationalism is held as high and with as bright a flame as ever.

The Communist principles of revolution and construction are restated by the Chinese leaders in five-pronged form: (1) a Communist Party built along the lines of "democratic

centralism" that must (2) establish a dictatorship over the landlord and capitalist classes; (3) carry out nationalisation of industry and a step-by-step collectivisation of agriculture; (4) develop socialist economy and the people's living standard by national planning; and (5) in foreign policy resolutely oppose imperialist aggression, recognise the equality of all nations and defend world peace. No concession at all is made here to the changed conditions since the second world war, as was done in Mr. Khrushchev's report to the Twentieth Congress. If the materialist interpretation of history is to be held as valid, then the Chinese thesis shows curious omissions.

Communists, it is argued, are faced with "two types of contradictions." First is a fundamental, antagonistic one against the imperialists—"a class struggle on a world scale." The other, arising among the various Communist parties, States and peoples, is not basic, and can be settled through criticism, or "struggles" leading to renewed unity. Are there, then, no "contradictions" between the Communist camp and the uncommitted Asian countries? The two groups make common cause against the imperialist powers, but since the newly independent Asians themselves are neither imperialists nor Communists, have they not also some friendly "contradictions"?

Mr. Khrushchev's report held visions of a possible peaceful transition to Socialism in certain countries in the new world conditions. Most Indians and many Russian Communists were convinced that the Soviet Party's Central Committee must in this connection have had India in mind. Their Chinese counterparts seem less sure. They rebuke the revisionists of Marxism-Leninism for believing that:

it is possible to build socialism in certain bourgeois countries, by-passing the proletarian revolution led by the political party of the proletariat; in their opinion, in these bourgeois countries state capitalism is already "growing" into socialism.

The Indian programme is precisely an attempt to by-pass social revolution through State capitalism. Soviet views have encouraged Indian Communists to cooperate with Mr. Nehru's efforts; the Chinese orthodoxy, on the other hand, would surely mean struggle. Soviet economic and technical assistance to Indian industrialisation has fostered thoughts of socialism, while the Chinese approach implies no more than brotherly and peaceful "co-existence" between two totally different social orders. What is clearly applicable to India, would seem also approximate to Burma, Ceylon and Indonesia.

The Chinese statement will certainly be regarded as a Marxist classic. If this classic gives rise to new struggles and conflicts in Asia, then we must blame history which alone can assign it to its proper place.

Comment

Mr. Menon Under Fire

EVER since Mr. Krishna Menon entered the limelight in Indian diplomacy he has been a controversial figure.

Many people have wondered what it was about Mr. Menon's political training and background that should have made him suitable for chief advocate of India's foreign policy. Mr. Nehru has always had great confidence in Mr. Menon's capabilities, and much of the credit for India's important position in the international diplomatic scene must go to the Nehru-Menon handling of India's external affairs. There have been times, however, when it has appeared that Mr. Menon's forthright manner, and his mental ostracism of most things western, had placed India in an awkward, and sometimes anomalous diplomatic position.

Many people in India, and outside, have questioned whether Krishna Menon was more of a liability than an asset to India. This, of course, is not easy to assess. It is certainly true that his manner does not mark him as one of the world's endearing persons. And yet it cannot be said that in diplomatic exchanges with Mr. Menon anyone is left in doubt about what he stands for. He is neither ambiguous nor ambivalent.

His usefulness as India's main spokesman in foreign affairs mainly depends on whether Indian policy is going to accept the idea that close and friendly relations with countries of the western hemisphere should be a cornerstone of future policy. Mr. Menon, it is known, does not get on well with American diplomats, and officials in Britain find him a bit hard to swallow. There is a general feeling in this part of the world that Mr. Menon's private views lie in the direction that India has nothing to gain from close relations with the West, that the West in world affairs is fast becoming a dead letter. Mr. Menon is hardly the man, if that is true, to be India's main contact with western Governments.

If the Indian Government thinks that Mr. Menon must retire from his post in the best interests of India's future policy, then he must; but there is something distasteful in the way he has come under fire in sections of the Indian press, just at the time when it is in the best interests of America to see him leave the scene. It is no secret that the State Department has considered Krishna Menon to have been in the way of the better relations America has so much desired with India. It is an odd commentary when the US State Department has the Indian papers on its side in bringing about a change in India's representation. The arguments used against Krishna Menon in some Indian papers are strangely like those that can be heard in the United States today. For any part of the Indian press to accede to American pressure in the matter of a Minister (whoever he be) is a high price to pay for the new found understanding between India and the US.

It is a matter of principle. Mr. Menon himself may well be expendable in the cause of better understanding between India and the West: for some papers to find it expedient to

eagerly reflect at home the western criticism of him is another and different matter.

Watch on the 17th Parallel

THE general situation in the demilitarised zone in Viet Nam still shows no signs of improvement. When the International Supervisory Commission recently issued its sixth interim report, covering the period December 11, 1955, to July 31, 1956, it declared roundly that the Commission was unable to function as it should. It is, nonetheless, persevering in its efforts to maintain peace with a view to the ultimate reunification of the country through nation-wide elections.

In the south—the Republic of Viet Nam—President Ngo Dinh Diem is, on the American model, both Head of Government and Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces, and appoints and recalls State Secretaries who are responsible to him. But unlike the American President, he is also invested with legislative power. With the support of the American armed forces, all opposition has been suppressed; quite recently, long-established French and Chinese enterprises were pushed out of their business. Western visitors report that Diem's dictatorship, unable to cope with the country's social and economic problems, has to be maintained with generous American financial and technical help.

Under the Communist regime in the north, the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, a great deal of economic progress has, as was to be expected, been made. But before President Ho Chi Minh's Government could claim all-round successes, they were faced with widespread peasant unrest, which came to a head last November, almost concurrently with the trouble in Hungary. They have admitted that dissatisfaction was due to high-pressure and too-fast collectivisation, and in consequence there have been some changes at the top levels of the Lao Dong (Communist Party). The sporadic fighting that occurred in some rural districts is attributed to disruptive elements taking advantage of the situation. There may be some truth in this, but from reports it seems that the situation was bad enough to make taking advantage of it reasonably easy. Ruthlessness was rife in the countryside, and the zeal of the local Communist Party leaders was responsible for excesses. Now, however, it appears that Ho Chi Minh has assumed direct control of the land reform programme, and with the slackening of the pace and economic concessions to agricultural producers, some of the original enthusiasm is returning. The traditional shortage of food grains has been temporarily overcome with aid from the Soviet Union, and the Government has even offered 50,000 tons of rice to India this year.

Reports from North Viet Nam of unrest have before proved to be exaggerated. Perhaps a measure of the Hanoi's Government's confidence is their assurance that if free elections were held through the whole of Viet Nam under United Nations supervision, they would still be returned victorious.

Asia and the Free Market

BRIITAIN'S plan to join the European free market has met with mixed reactions in Asian countries. Reports from Delhi and Karachi stress the fact that the British Government was in consultation with the Commonwealth Governments on this matter, but some circles express concern. It appears that fuller information is awaited in order to be able to judge correctly all the implications of this development on the economy of the respective Asian countries. Our Tokyo correspondent, on the other hand, reports that the intended British plan has produced strong reactions in Japan. It is emphasised that the Asian countries are now being confronted with three large organised economic units: those of United States, the Soviet Union and countries of the Soviet orbit including China, and the integrated West European free market, with economic co-ordination in other fields proceeding in that region.

Questions are being asked on the extent of economic disadvantages incurred by Asian countries due to the existence of powerful economic units and what should be the most effective answer by Asian countries to the latest developments. It is to be expected that this problem will be discussed by the Colombo Plan countries and by ECAFE so as to thoroughly examine the problem and, if necessary, to take appropriate steps.

Eastern News

THE report of the International Press Institute on the flow of news into and out of Asia, which was published recently, has some interesting observations to make on the information available to Asians on the affairs of Asia. The

Institute, at a conference early last year in Tokyo, studied the results of research mainly in India and Japan. The conclusion reached in the report is that generally speaking Asians are not very well informed on what goes on in their own part of the world. This unfortunate situation is due to the shortage of correspondents sent to other countries by newspapers published in Asia. Whereas, for instance, many big newspapers in India have correspondents in Britain, America, France and some even in Germany, not many have staff men in Asian capitals.

The reason for this shortage of special correspondents is the limited budget to which such newspapers have to work. Japanese newspapers do not experience the same difficulty. Many serious minded journals there have circulations of around three million, and each has a large advertising revenue, which means that they can afford to keep correspondents in many centres. Newspapers in other Asian countries, however, rely very largely on news agencies, but these can, and do, supply only on-the-spot news. To increase the understanding of one Asian country by another more background material is necessary, and this can only be reliably supplied by special correspondents.

Some complaints were raised at the Press Institute's conference that the larger world news agencies supplied news on Asia with a pro-western bias. The argument that this was inaccurate because most world agencies employ Asians on their reporting staffs is not wholly correct. The kind of material many Asian correspondents would submit to a western agency would be of the sort the employer would expect to see. If they were writing directly for Asian newspapers they would reflect more openly what they felt.

We in the West are reasonably well served with news from Asia. Asian editors might well ponder the importance to their readers of getting to know better the situation in neighbouring countries.

Letters to the Editor

Space does not permit us to use all the letters received from Asia on the Suez affair. Last month we published a selection from readers in Britain. Those from the East for the most part condemn the Anglo-French action in Egypt, and many express sentiments similar to those contained in the two letters printed here.—Ed.

Sir.—The damage the British and French have done to their prestige is not countable. I could not believe it when I read that the British Government had actually carried its threat into practice. Many harsh things have been said about British colonialism in the past decade, but I for one was of the opinion that various post-war British Governments, put there by a free vote of the British people, were moving towards a better understanding of the peoples of Asia and Africa.

It is true that places like Kenya and Cyprus have cast a dark shadow over expressions of goodwill from London, but on the whole it seemed that the "Bandung spirit" was better understood in Britain

than in, say, America. But now; well, the clock has been put back, and feelings about Britain will never quite be the same again.

You said in this month's [November's] leading article that France went into the Suez affair hanging on to Britain's coat tails. From what I can read into the business it seems more likely that France was the satanic influence that prodded Britain into the venture. France's position, as you rightly point out, is reprehensible, disgustingly reprehensible. Even under a so-called Socialist Government she loves to act the little imperialist.

The behaviour of France in Indo-China sickened people throughout Asia, and since that mess France has not been thought of as one of the world's great powers. It is unforgivable that Britain should link arms with France in an act of thuggery, and to sing words of praise about the relationship between the two countries as if it was something to be proud of. Britain is branded now like France was over Indo-China.

Yours, etc.,

Kurmegala, Ceylon.

T. LANAROLLE

Sir.—In your November's leading article on Suez you say that people in Asia should take note of the depth of disagreement in Britain with the Eden Government's action. There was a lot of talk among certain of my fellow countrymen after Britain had launched her unwarranted attack against Egypt of India leaving the British Commonwealth. I and my many friends were all against it because we felt that those Conservatives who were responsible for bringing about crisis were not representative of the Englishmen who value India as a member of the Commonwealth.

There are a large majority of Indians who today still have trust in the kind of British thinking and awareness that prevailed in 1947 when India got independence. This does not mean that I personally am not prepared to outright condemn the British (and French) for what they did in Egypt, but although we in India were angry and amazed, we knew who we were angry with, and that was not the British people as a whole but a few unscrupulous politicians.

Yours, etc.,

Madras, India.

L. M. MUDALIAR

THE PLACE OF THE ARMY IN INDONESIAN POLITICS

By Justus M. van der Kroef

THE recent revolt by Indonesian military commanders in Sumatra, other reported dissatisfaction, and revelations by the Indonesian Government regarding the involvement of officers and men of the army in extensive smuggling operations, in Sumatra as well as in Sulawesi (Celebes) have focused attention once again on the curious position which the army and its leadership occupies in the country and the extent to which it seems to operate as an autonomous force in political life. To some western observers, who are adherents of the principle of strict civilian control over the military arm in the state, the free-wheeling independent *modus operandi* of the Indonesian army's commanders is reminiscent of an acute "war-lordism" as it used to plague China. Such comparisons, while not wholly without some foundation in fact, do tend to overlook the historic origins and development of the Indonesian army and its present status in national Indonesian life, all of which to a large extent explain its occasionally baffling role. Nor do they take adequate cognisance of the constructive and stabilising influence which the Indonesian army's leadership, despite inner dissensions, has been able to exert on public affairs precisely because of its somewhat unusual position. It does not seem unlikely that future observers will attribute much of the success of democratic government in Indonesia to the army's decisions at crucial points in the nation's early history.

Any analysis of the army's political role must begin by stressing the revolutionary origins of the national Indonesian army, the creation by the *Panitia Persiapan Kemerdekaan Indonesia* (Preparatory Commission for the Independence of Indonesia) in August 1945, of a *Badan Keamanan Rakyat* (People's Security Board), which, in the words of Minister of Foreign Affairs Ruslan Abdulgani, was "the seed of the *Tentara Nasional Indonesia* (National Indonesian Army)." To be sure, Indonesia in the colonial period, had been familiar with an army in which Indonesian mercenaries figured prominently, and in which the non-political role of the army was accepted without question. The national Indonesian army arose, however, for a very specific political objective; to defend the young Republic's claim to independence against the Dutch, and its entire spirit drew sustenance from an intense, popular nationalism. Moreover, as a recent publication of the Indonesian High Commission in the Netherlands points out, the "TNI was created from 'the bottom up.' Central leadership and coordination came later" (*Tien Jaar Republik Indonesia, 1955*). Throughout the revolutionary period, and to a lesser extent even today, the Indonesian army included various groups of volunteers and guerrillas, "private armies," many of which were beyond the discipline and control of the central army command. These unorganised forces, called *lasjkar* or *barisan*, it is to be feared, frequently got out of hand, but in the struggle for

freedom their role was formidable; even so there are many indications that regular army leaders were not wholly pleased with the independence and strength of the *barisan*, many of whose commanders were willing to cooperate only if they obtained a voice in the direction of military affairs. During the revolution this direction was provided first by President Sukarno as supreme commander, but secondly and more importantly, by various conciliar coordinating bodies like the *Biro Perjuangan Pusat* (Central War Bureau), in which army as well as the *lasjkar* leaders were represented along with civilians. Regular army units were usually supplied with a *Dewan Penasehat* (Council of Advisers) composed of *lasjkar* commanders. Still other national and local "war bureaus" were established as the fight against the Dutch wore on, and some of the irregular armed units (the *barisan*) were charged with a more specific range of duties, such as anti-espionage activities, supervision over the air raid warden service, and even Red Cross work.

It would seem, then, that from the start the entire body of armed forces of the Republic was an integral part of a political upheaval and took its *raison d'être* from the ideologies behind that upheaval, while the resistance of the Indonesian people was not merely left to the regular army as such, but to a host of para-military and irregular fighting organisations which regarded themselves as integral and important parts of the Indonesian "army." Civilian control over all these forces was more fiction than fact during most of the Revolution. Consequently the course of the Revolution was marked by countless incidents resulting from attempts to influence army operations for specific political purposes (e.g. in Pekalongan, the insurrection of Jusuf in Tjeribon, the Karo-affaire, and the Communist insurrection in Madiun).

(At the time that the Indonesian Republic officially obtained its freedom from the Dutch in December 1949, it was faced with the problem of a large and, in many respects, ill-disciplined military establishment, with units, which under the guise of revolutionary fervour, continued to live off the countryside (few of these units had been compensated by the revolutionary government, though entitled to pay) and maraud the citizenry, and were fast becoming a liability to the young national government.) Moreover, the transfer of sovereignty caught hundreds of Indonesian mercenaries in the colonial army (KNIL), who had fought against the republican army, unawares. These mercenaries could choose to transfer to the republican army, but for understandable reasons they were reluctant to do so. Finally, independence proved to be a somewhat heady wine for many Indonesians; some showed a disconcerting lack of responsibility in the reconstruction of their nation and seemed more inclined to enjoy opportunistically the emoluments that the chances of war had brought them. Certain army leaders in league with businessmen and politicians reaped considerable personal advantages from the attainment of independence.)

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These problems have determined much of the course of army development in the past six years. The question of colonial army personnel, has, in the long run, perhaps been the easiest to deal with. Although groups of mercenaries rebelled against the Indonesian government in Macassar and elsewhere in 1951 and others subsequently migrated to the Netherlands and a morally debilitating life in special camps, the conversion of former KNIL units has occurred without great difficulty, while among the former mercenaries in Holland there is now a readiness to return to Indonesia. The cause of the "Republic of the South Moluccas," at one time the core of rebellious KNIL mercenaries from Amboina, is by now lost and gone, and with it at least one major problem of army reorganisation. But in the matter of the *lasjkar* groups, and of instilling much needed discipline in army ranks, the army command was less successful, steering its problems, *volens volens*, into the political arena and committing itself to a hazardous reform programme that brought serious rifts in the army command into the open. The difficulties began in the latter part of 1952 during the tenure of the Wilopo Cabinet, when the then Minister of Defence, Hamengku Buwono, Sultan of Djokjakarta, pushed forward with a sweeping programme of reorganising the Indonesian army into a smaller, more compact and, above all, a well disciplined force, shorn of all extra-legal hangers-on, auxiliaries and irregular units. The Sultan's measures, which were in general conformity with the proposals of a Dutch military mission in the country which was helping in the army organisation, were not only unpopular among *lasjkar* groups which saw their prestigious and attractive employment come to an end, it also aroused opposition among intense nationalistic officers, many of whom had been trained under Japanese auspices in "ideological methods" of maintaining and mobilising a "mass army" with a definite political orientation.

RAMIFICATIONS IN PARLIAMENT

To these officers the Sultan's methods, particularly since they were endorsed by a mission of the hated Dutch, smacked of reactionary beliefs, of colonialism and of wilful disregard of the great services rendered the revolutionary cause by the "people's army," i.e. the *lasjkar* and *barisan*. These dissident officers were not lacking in influential support in parliamentary circles, a support which they were soon to bring to bear on the cabinet and on the Sultan. The supporters of the Sultan, on the other hand, which included many of the army's territorial commanders had, by this time, developed rather definite views of many parliamentary figures, many of whom, in the army commanders' opinion, had forfeited all rights to hold office because of their corrupt dealings, their ineptitude and their disregard for the national welfare. The conflict between the two groups thus assumed parliamentary ramifications, and to some political observers, the Sultan's conduct was such as to bring into question the entire concept of civilian (i.e. also parliamentary) control over the military. On July 29, 1952, after previous difficulties, the Sultan dismissed from his command one Col. Bambang (Supeno, director of an officers' training school and a vocal adherent of the "ideological" officers' group. Supeno had been criticised for his training methods and for his alleged opposition to the Defence Minister's measures. Refusing to accept this criticism Supeno complained directly to the President and to some Members of Parliament.

Parliament thereupon decided to investigate the whole

matter, and subsequently various motions were offered, some sharply critical of the Sultan and demanding further investigation of defence policies. All this had the effect of sharpening the distaste of the Sultan and most of the higher army officers for the opportunistic and irresponsible demagoguery which, in their opinion, parliamentary leaders were displaying in the whole matter; they thereupon decided upon a course of intimidation. (On October 17, 1952, a mob of thousands gathered in front of the parliament building in Jakarta, carrying signs and handbills demanding the dissolution of the parliament; similar demonstrations were reported from other cities. Some of the mob had arrived in trucks and gave other indications of a certain degree of planning and premeditation. Sukarno's masterful handling of the masses prevented the worst, however. In subsequent days rumours flew thick and fast, but one fact emerged with a fair degree of certainty: territorial commanders of the army, failing in their attempt to persuade President Sukarno to dissolve parliament and assist in the army reorganisation by arresting dissident officers, had called on the Jakarta mob for assistance (for other details of this question see my *Indonesia in the Modern World*, Bandung, Indonesia, 1954-56, vol. 2). In the period after the demonstration it became clear what a dangerous door they had thus opened.)

For in the following weeks those territorial commanders who had participated in what was coming to be known as the "October 17" affair were deposed by their seconds in command. The first move was made in East Java, where Lt. Col. Suwondo was relieved of his command over the Brawidjaja division by his subordinate, Lt. Col. Sudirman, who in a subsequent broadcast proclaimed his loyalty to the President but was sharply critical of the Army High Command, which, in his opinion, had flouted the "revolutionary spirit." Col. Gatot Subroto, territorial commander of Eastern Indonesia, was removed by his subordinate Lt. Col. Warouw, who issued a statement similar to Sudirman's. Finally in the South Sumatra territory Lt. Col. Kosasih was relieved by his subordinate Lt. Col. Kretarto. In private the Sultan fumed over such outright insubordination, in fact he was powerless to take any action since neither the President nor the cabinet seemed willing to back his position. The Socialist Party, which reputedly, had close connections with some high ranking officers supporting the Sultan, was accused of fomenting civil disorder; both the Armed Forces Chief of Staff Simatupang and the Army Chief of Staff A. H. Nasution, were widely believed to have been implicated. On December 5, 1952, Nasution resigned, followed by the Sultan and some of his close associates in the Defence Ministry, and ultimately by General Simatupang after his position was subsequently declared abolished. The "October 17" affair proved also to be the beginning of the end of the moderate Wilopo Cabinet, and the beginning of a more ultra nationalistic course under that of its successor, led by Ali Sastroamidjojo.]

The policies of this first Sastroamidjojo cabinet (July 1953-August 1955) are still a matter of controversy, but two facts seem to emerge beyond dispute, (1) that for a variety of reasons the economy of the country deteriorated during the Cabinet's tenure of office, and that, moreover, this deterioration was attributable in some degree to the extensive network of bribery and graft that had enveloped members of the government in league with businessmen, and (2) that the dissension and inner conflicts in the armed forces

leadership continued and were in fact aggravated by the policies of the new Defence Minister, Iwa Kusumasumantri, who was widely suspected of Communist leanings. The new Army Chief of Staff, Gen. Bambang Sugeng, soon found himself enmeshed in intrigues and mutually antagonistic policies, not only from within the ranks of army officers, but also from a variety of political circles. (The military establishment remained as costly and as unwieldy as before. Ideas of an army built around a small cadre of professionals, supplied by yearly classes of conscripts, had to be postponed, since the Defence Minister appeared to be loath to rid the army of irregular units. On the contrary, Iwa apparently suggested the formation of an armed Communist influenced veterans' group to assist the army in its operations against Muslim extremists of the Darul Islam. Moreover, the financial position of the army became increasingly worse: troops failed to get paid regularly, there were insufficient funds for the proper maintenance of encampments and installations, and even evidence that military supplies tended to be directed unduly to army units whose commanders were supporters of Iwa.) Efforts were made to "neutralise" those who had supported the Sultan and when Armed Forces Chief of Staff Simatupang did not offer to resign, his position was simply abolished and its authority brought under Iwa's office. Army Chief of Staff Sugeng repeatedly offered to resign, declaring on January 16, 1955, that he was "unable to cope with the political intrigues inside the army."

At first President Sukarno refused to accept his resignation, but pressure on him, also from the side of dissatisfied army officers, mounted. Moreover, the army itself began to show signs of greater unity. (Later in February 1955 a solemn reconciliation conference of army officers was staged in Jogjakarta. In an impressive ceremony, illuminated by torch light, the officers affixed their signatures to a new charter, embodying an "honour code," which disavowed the mixing of politics in army affairs and emphasised the importance of professional rather than political qualifications in army appointments. If this was intended as a warning to Iwa, he failed to heed it. Late in the spring Army Chief of Staff Sugeng was finally permitted to resign thus setting the stage for a new, dramatic, excursion of army officers into the politics of their country.

PATERNALISTIC AND AUTHORITARIAN

For with Sugeng's resignation the direction of the Army High Command came into the hands of Col. Zulkifli Lubis, as assistant and acting Army Chief of Staff. Lubis, with headquarters in Jakarta, had long been opposed to Iwa and his policies. Fanatically anti-Communist and related to high aristocratic Indonesian families, Col. Lubis is representative of the paternalistic - authoritarian tenor of traditional Indonesian social and cultural values, a new *priaji* (noble) in fact, if not in temperament, in officer's garb. Prudence would have dictated more intensive counsel with Lubis and his associates on the choice of the new Army Chief of Staff. Iwa thought otherwise and approved the appointment of Col. Utoyo as Sugeng's successor even though Utoyo in the opinion of Lubis and his associates lacked good health and other necessary qualifications. Moreover, political considerations appeared to have influenced the choice of Utoyo; other officers who might be better suited were disregarded because of their opposition to the policies of Iwa or because of their earlier support of the Sultan. All in all it seemed to Lubis and his followers that the principles of the Jogjakarta

declaration were being deliberately ignored. In the background, it should be added, was the dissident officers' growing concern over the far reaching political "spoils system" that had come into existence under the tenure of the first Ali cabinet, and the corruption that had become rife in many layers of the Government and the business world.

The installation of Utoyo by President Sukarno on June 27, 1955, was therefore boycotted by Lubis and all other army commanders, the assistant chief of staff refusing to recognise Utoyo's appointment. Iwa summoned Lubis to his office, but the latter again refused to appear, whereupon the Defence Minister dismissed him from his post. Now Lubis refused to accept his dismissal, and after a conference with the regional army commanders announced that the new Chief of Staff would have to resign, that he, Lubis, would have to be reinstated and that he would act as spokesman for the army command. The tottering Ali cabinet was thrown into confusion by this determined stand and by the extraordinarily forthright and courageous statements of Lubis explaining his conduct. Agreeing, in a press review, that theoretically, he was guilty of insubordination, Lubis implied that no other alternative had been open to him. Since the outbreak of the Revolution the army had been subjected to political pressures of all kinds, having become involved in insurrections like the Madiun incident.

"In all these affairs it became apparent that certain groups wanted to manipulate the army for their own ends. Slowly the conviction grew in the army that it needed to free itself from such influences. . . . I could have left everything as it was, but a man of responsibility cannot do that. I therefore decided to act as my conscience dictated. Islam teaches me that I must obey my leaders, but also that I must do good works for the general welfare." (*Nieuwsgr, Jakarta, June 28, 1955*).

Subsequently, in a widely reported "Order of the Day" to his command (July 17, 1955) Lubis countered charges that he was seeking a militarist dictatorship on the "rubble" of civil government in Indonesia:

The National Indonesian Army does not condone militarism, but it also declines to accept the political opportunism or "civilianism" that has spread in our country. The Army opposes the concept that politics is the only factor to be considered, and that military interests must be ignored. . . . Recent occurrences in the Army have amply demonstrated the attempts to put "political" considerations above those of military strategy, tactics, administration, logistics, or technique.)

From the beginning Lubis enjoyed the support of the powerful territorial commanders of the army and against their unanimous opposition the Ali Cabinet proved powerless. It tried to reach a compromise with the army, by sacrificing Defence Minister Iwa, who promptly resigned and immediately accompanied the President on his pilgrimage to Mecca. It also offered to reinstate Lubis, to allow the hapless Utoyo to resign as Chief of Staff, and to give the higher army officers a chance to express their choice on his successor. Though the cabinet then, in effect, bowed to Lubis and his associates, the latter refused to meet the Cabinet halfway, thus forcing the Ali Cabinet to resign. From this particular army policy it seems reasonable to conclude that the army's opposition increasingly extended itself to the entire administration of the Ali Cabinet, not just to the policies of its Defence Minister alone, and that upon evidence of army solidarity, army leaders saw their chance to press their attack home against a cabinet which, in their opinion, had ensnared

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Indonesia in a political "spoils system" that had brought the prestige of the Government down to a low level, both among Indonesians and abroad.

But whatever the sincerity of Lubis' convictions and the idealism of his motives, the net effect of his successful stand against the Ali Cabinet was, that, unlike the "October 17" affair, the army had been able to circumvent the proper constitutional civilian control over it (no matter how repugnant that control may have been to the army officers), and that on behalf of the principle of ridding itself of partisan political influences, the army had once again actively entered the political arena. Seen in that light Lubis' cure may have been worse than the disease, and may have strengthened autocratic and autonomous tendencies in the army that were to become apparent later on. In the meantime the Cabinet of Premier Burhanuddin Harahap, which succeeded that of Ali Sastroamidjojo proceeded very cautiously in its relationship with the army, the Premier himself taking the Defence portfolio and consulting frequently with army officers in military matters. Bambang Utuyo duly resigned as Chief of Staff, succeeded, with the general approval of the territorial commanders, by Col. A. H. Nasution, who, it will be recalled, had resigned the same post because of his involvement in the "October 17" affair three years before. Though the Harahap Cabinet was in office only for about a year, returning its mandate after the completion of the first general elections, its conciliatory and moderate policies, and its attempt to clean out the worst nests of corruption did much to establish more amicable relations with the army.

Unfortunately, this improvement was more than off-set by a rapid deterioration of the logistical and financial position of the army. In three large areas of the Indonesian Archipelago (Achin in North Sumatra, West Java and South Sulawesi) the army has been actively battling Muslim insurgents but with troops that are inadequately paid, housed and supplied. As early as October 1954, there were reports that the army command of North Sulawesi was participating in and profiting from the smuggling of copra from the area, the proceeds being used to finance necessary military operations (*Java Bode*, Jakarta, September 30, November 9, 1954). By October 1956, two years later, it became clear that the army was also a party to the smuggling of rubber and coffee from Teluk Nibung harbour in Sumatra to Singapore, and had become deeply involved in the rebellion of copra producers around Macassar (South Sulawesi) against the now dissolved government copra purchasing commission

(Jajasan Koprah). The army's participation in smuggling must be seen first of all against the background of the extensive smuggling of rubber and copra by private producers that has characterised the Indonesian economy for a number of years now, and which finds its explanation not only in the unwieldy and unrealistic fiscal policies of the central Indonesian Government, but also in the lack of meaningful regional autonomy of outlying provinces and areas in Indonesia. I. J. Kasimo, Economic Affairs Minister in the Harahap Cabinet, revealed that under the tenure of the previous Cabinet the Government was losing about one billion Rupiah a year in revenues because of smuggling in which even high officials appeared to have participated, and the harbour master of the important East Sumatran port of Bagan Siapi Api has declared that in the year 1955 in his territory alone the national treasury was deprived of 4 million US dollars in revenue because of smuggling (*Java Bode*, July 11, 1956). Under such conditions and in the absence of adequate budget allocations for army maintenance, army officers may well have felt justified in participating in what was a "going concern." High army officers, among them the territorial commanders of the areas in which the smuggling took place, not only knew of the smuggling by members of their commands, but condoned it and notified Department of Defence as well as Cabinet officials of what they were driven to do because of the deplorable conditions of their units. The evidence is overwhelming that the funds obtained were indeed used for the maintenance and construction of military facilities, as well as for the benefit of the local civilian population. Thus, according to a statement of the chairman of the committee on Defence Affairs of the Indonesian Parliament, the proceeds of the smuggling led by the army in North Sulawesi were used to purchase 5,000 tons of rice, 69 vehicles and 400 bales of white cloth which were distributed among both the military and civilian authorities as well as to charitable institutions in the area (*Java Bode*, July 17, 1956). In North Sumatra, the proceeds of the more than 5,000 tons of rubber smuggled out of the country, with army participation, by a Chinese exporter in Medan, to Malaya and Hong Kong, amounted to about 75 million Rupiah, roughly half of which has been received by the army; construction and repair of military encampments is now well under way.)

LACK OF AUTHORITY IN OUTLYING AREAS

The army's smuggling has deeply embarrassed the second Ali Sastroamidjojo Cabinet and thus far little constructive action has been taken. There is a general feeling that disciplinary measures against the army officers and personnel involved is out of the question, and that the answer must rather be sought in defining the fiscal relationship between the national treasury and the provinces and regions of the Republic and in giving the latter greater autonomy. It is clear, at any rate, that both in North Sulawesi, as well as in Macassar, army commanders could not fail to respond to the growing restiveness of the civilian population in their territories over the absence of meaningful authority in local fiscal matters, creating conditions that were seriously threatening the economic future not only of the army units stationed there but also of the territories as a whole. There is a sense of feudal *noblesse oblige* that is deeply embedded in Indonesian social and cultural traditions, and army officers, as a new élite, cannot fail to accept the responsibilities imposed by these popular traditions even if,

by western standards, their conduct becomes unconventional to say the least. Col. Simbolon, territorial commander of North Sumatra, who approved the smuggling ventures of his unit, did not hesitate to display—for an Indonesian and a soldier—unusual emotion as he described the miserable living conditions of his *anak anak* ("children"), i.e., his troops. This benevolent paternalism is strongly developed in Indonesia, and no solution of the incipient "warlordism" of the army can fail to reckon with it.

Moreover, the army's conduct may well have neutralised to a large extent more serious disruptive trends that could have brought the country to the brink of civil war. By making itself the rallying point of popular discontent and by channelling the discontent to some degree (as in Sulawesi), the army command may well have contributed to that small margin by which constitutional government has largely been preserved in Indonesia, even if at the cost of jeopardising the authority of an over-centralised national government. To say this, however, is not to minimise the fact that once again the army has been able to ignore, if not to flout, the civilian controls imposed on it and that its officers by their very adherence to the traditions of benevolent paternalism may find themselves on that perilous decline that swiftly leads to the point where they are no longer able to refuse further concessions to those who look to them for leadership.

UNCERTAINTY AMONG THE PEOPLE

In the interim, major problems of army organisation and supply remain. There is a desperate shortage of army physicians (1 physician for every 2,000 troops), 80 percent of the infantry's weapons are obsolete because of age, the mechanisation of many units is far behind schedule—to name but a few difficulties. Slow progress is now being made toward the formation of a standing cadre, supplied by yearly conscript levies, and a conscript law is being prepared for parliamentary approval. Meanwhile the army is being reduced in size, Col. Nasution, the present Chief of Staff declaring in June 1956, that the army was then 185,000 strong, a reduction of 15,000 when he assumed command about ten months before. At the same time a redoubled effort is being made to integrate the troublesome *lasjkar* groups into the national army. Thus recently two leaders of the "People's Army" of South and Central Sulawesi took an oath of loyalty to the Republic, and their followers are expected to follow.

But the public reaction to the army's repeated excursion into politics and its recent smuggling ventures have created an attitude of uncertainty in many layers of society toward the army, a wide spread sense of confusion, which in turn has made army leaders extremely sensitive. A case in point was the recent incident involving a Chinese engineer and businessman Han Swie Tik, who, after an argument, hit Dr. Harsono, an Indonesian army captain-physician, so severely that the latter had to be sent to hospital. Mr. Han was arrested by military police, then set at liberty, then arrested again by the military police and finally turned over to civilian authorities, who upon examination set a date for his trial and again set him free. The civilian prosecutor who, after arraigning Mr. Han, had set him at liberty, declaring that "he is no criminal," was so severely criticised by officers groups that he was transferred. Unknown assailants twice fired some 60 shots at a business establishment in the heart of Jakarta, of which Mr. Han is co-owner.

The whole affair took an unexpected turn, however, with the circulation of reports that Mr. Han and his business associate, Mr. Njoo Tik Hien, had connections in the army high command and were attempting to influence high ranking officers on their behalf. The whole incident thus came to be related to the question of graft and corruption in government circles and soon Jakarta as well as other cities were the scene of the distribution of pamphlets, prepared by an organisation called *Pelaksana Revolusi 1945* ("Executive of the Revolution of 1945") in which Mr. Han and other Chinese were directed to make known the names of Indonesian Government officials who were bribed by them or are in their pay. Mr. Njoo Tik Hien was subsequently kidnapped by unknown individuals and a similar fate befell another Indonesian Chinese, Mr. Lie Hok Thay, acting director-general of the National Printing plant, whose disappearance was initially believed to have a connection with the Han-Harsono incident. Unexpectedly it was announced however, that Mr. Lie Hok Thay had been arrested along with another Indonesian for alleged malversation and corrupt practices in the printing of election ballots last year. According to their testimony they were not alone, however; participating in their venture, so they alleged, was none other than Ruslan Abdulgani, the present Foreign Affairs Minister. On the day that Abdulgani was to fly to London to attend the conference on the Suez Canal crisis, a young army officer entered his home, holding an order for his arrest. Only the interference of Premier Ali Sastroamidjojo and of the Chief of Staff, General Nasution, secured for Abdulgani permission to depart on his London journey. Upon his return, two weeks later, a special commission, composed mainly of Cabinet Ministers, interrogated him and cleared him of all complicity.

ARMY'S FRUSTRATIONS AND DIFFICULTIES

Again the army had entered into political life, for the order detaining Ruslan Abdulgani had been signed by Col. Kawilarang, then territorial commander of West Java, but, it is widely believed, originated with Col. Zulkifli Lubis, whose zeal to bring to light all corruption and malversation in government had led to his successful stand against the graft ridden first administration of Ali Sastroamidjojo. Whether the Han-Harsono incident had initiated a further investigation by the army that had led to the door of the Foreign Affairs Minister may not be known for some time. Nor is it known what evidence, if any, the army possesses against Sjamsuddin Sutan Makmur, former Minister of Information in the Cabinet of Burhanuddin Harahap. Makmur was arrested on the same day that Abdulgani was detained, also on orders of Col. Kawilarang, but subsequently released because of insufficient evidence of any malversations. Not the least curious aspect of the "August 13" affair is that the Army Chief of Staff, General Nasution appears to have been completely unaware of his subordinates' intention to arrest Abdulgani and Makmur. Moreover, it is remarkable that Col. Kawilarang took his unusual measure 36 hours before he was scheduled to transfer his command and take up a new post as military attaché in Washington, DC. If anything, the "August 13" affair demonstrated the lack of coordination, discipline and cognizance of orderly procedures in the army high command.

Whatever the outcome of the whole incident, it would also appear that the army found itself to be once again a crucible of deepseated antagonistic forces in Indonesian society,

some directed against the Chinese minority, some expressive of a more general uncertainty and frustration, others again being simply opportunistic. Whatever the upshot of the "August 13" affair it would seem that some ranking army officers and their followers find it difficult to disengage themselves from current political and social problems and that their own frustrations and difficulties in a climate of popular uncertainty are apt to be projected on to a much larger screen, embracing the deep Chinese-Indonesian rift in the country today, as well as the question of corruption in government, just as the smuggling incident reflected the much larger issue of regional autonomy in Indonesia. The army finds itself, therefore, called upon to decisively interfere in political life, if only to preserve a measure of stability in the state. Another illustration of that was the acceptance by the National Security Council of Indonesia of a decision of the Army Chief of Staff, Gen. Nasution, to prohibit the publication or dissemination of any printed material derogatory of President, Vice-President, Members of Parliament or any Government official executing his task, or tending to arouse enmity toward certain groups or toward the state. The reason for this unusual order, promulgated on September 14, 1956, was the flood of highly incendiary propaganda by separatist groups against the allegedly "Javanese dominated" central Government, against Chinese who are desirous of citizenship or against "Dutch provocateurs" in the country. The propaganda flood had its inception in the Han-Harsono affair, and reached new heights during the "August 13" incident and after, when the government was buried under an avalanche of hostile criticism and innuendo in many newspapers. Whatever the

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justification of the measure the Indonesian press is almost solidly against it, many questioning its constitutionality if not its wisdom. But to the army, charged with the maintenance of security, the press has failed to curb itself and has added immeasurably to the uncertainties and confusions in Indonesian public life, thus making the order indispensable to the execution of its task.

Indonesian leaders have always shown a remarkable ability in avoiding head-on collisions of hostile political forces. Their unerring sense of finesse and compromise is perhaps their greatest asset also in the painful evolution of army organisation and inter-governmental relationships and in the attainment of that constitutional stability so ardently desired by Indonesians and their friends.

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*Journey to Sinkiang—2***SYMBOL OF CHINA'S CHANGE***By H. C. Taussig* (Editor of EASTERN WORLD, who has been touring China)

GREAT changes in Sinkiang's agricultural life have been brought about by the Construction Corps of the Chinese People's Liberation Army. Their story is one of the great epics of pioneering, and their large-scale efforts have already achieved remarkable results both in cultivation as well as in the improvement of rural living standards.

After the liberation of the country, the Central Government ordered that part of the Army which had taken over from the KMT in Sinkiang to transfer to construction work. Those who wished to leave the service were free to do so, but others, who volunteered to exchange arms for tools, were not demobilised and continued to work as army units. They were allowed to send for their families and are, of course, free to leave if they want. A certain number did, indeed, leave for their respective homes, but most of the soldiers remained. They realised that the Sinkiang construction scheme offered them many more chances than they would have found in the overcrowded eastern provinces. They realised that they could count on better implements, resources and a quickly increasing living standard if they stayed with these army units. It must also not be forgotten that the soldiers, after years of thorough political training, realised their opportunity of building up that socialist state for which they had been fighting.

Altogether the Construction Corps comprises about ten divisions, an approximate total of 200,000 men. There are five divisions of the 1st Field Army Corps of the Liberation Army, four of former Kuomintang troops who surrendered peacefully, and one division consisting of local national minorities. Seven out of the ten divisions devote themselves to agricultural pioneering work, the rest specialise in transportation, water conservancy (irrigation) and, most of them, building. The headquarters of the organisation are still functioning in military form, though without uniforms, but otherwise the machinery works like any other state enterprise and the soldier-workers receive pay according to the wage system operating all over China. Those of them who, in the meantime, qualified for other professions like teachers, engineers, medical staff etc., which they exercise inside the organisation, receive the same pay as they would get in any other enterprise in the country.

I went to see the new headquarters of the Construction Corps put up by their own soldiers-turned-builders, where Chief of Staff General Tao Chun-tsu — a former KMT general — explained to me the work of his units. The Corps is based on state ownership. At first it was financed as a state investment from the military budget, later it re-invested its profits and now profits are delivered to the government which also re-invests and is responsible for all the money needed for expansion. The living standard on the 36 agricultural farms and 26 stockbreeding stations run by the Corps

is coupled with their output. As production goes up, so does the comfort of the workers.

At first work was exceedingly hard and conditions were bad. There was nothing in the desert, particularly no water. Irrigation was taken in hand and simple huts built, steppes were brought under cultivation and this year 115,400 *ha* were cultivated and sold, while another 280,000 *ha* were newly tilled. This was possible because since 1950 mechanisation was gradually introduced, and now hundreds of tractors are helping to turn the desert into fields. By 1967, the end of the third five-year plan, the land under cultivation will amount to 2½ million hectares. Altogether it is reckoned that 6,500,000 *ha* of Sinkiang's deserts can be cultivated.

The chief crops are wheat, cotton, maize, rice and soyabans, and the output of cotton is the highest throughout China. The Corps has its own enormous herds of cattle, and has planted 1,400 million trees, built its own houses and dug eight big water reservoirs and irrigation ditches to form a water conservancy system with a capacity of 280 million cubic metres. Besides these achievements, the Corps has trained 14,000 professional technicians and has built a completely new town in the desert 150 km. west of Urumchi.

This town, called Stone River, is the centre of one of the main operational territories of the Construction Corps. I went there to see the actual field work of these unique pioneers. After travelling over a good country road through desert and steppe, we suddenly reached a green, fertile plain — the reclaimed and cultivated land of the "Seven Rivers" country. On the steps of a new building which looked like a small, feudal landowner's seat in eastern Europe, I was greeted by General Wang Ken-sen, the Deputy Chief of Staff, who is in charge of that section of the reclamation work. In front of a large map, he later told me more about the difficulties and successes of the Corps, both being considerable. The colossal area of operations, 40,000 sq. km., is near the South Mountains, where seven rivers, the largest among them called Manas, hopefully descend to the plains only to lose themselves in the sands of the desert. But it is a region which, with proper irrigation, can be reclaimed.

"When we came in 1950," General Wang said, "there was only the desert, no trees, only occasional patches of tall grass. There were, however, flies and mosquitoes in such quantities that they nearly drove us crazy and people wrapped themselves up in paper. There were also wolves and wild boar, and we constantly had to be on our guard. We only had the spades used in the army, and just started digging. It was not before 1952 that we were able to start ploughing with horses. Later that year we began with four tractors which, once we had trained drivers, made an enormous difference to our output."

Now they have 200 tractors and are 60 percent

mechanised. Between 1950 and 1956 the ten farms of the Construction Corps in the area have sown some 50,000 hectares, about half of which with cotton. I went to some of the farms, saw an impressive irrigation reservoir, and the clearing of ground for future fields.

The farmer-soldiers are still poor according to western standards, but compared with the level of agricultural workers before liberation, they are much better off. They are much better fed, clad and housed, and are, for the first time in their lives, financially secure. As they receive a salary, but do not participate in the profits of the state farms, it seems that they have relatively less chances than those farmers who have joined collective farms. They are in some ways similarly placed to the industrial workers, although the latter appear to be earning better wages. On the other hand, I learned that appearances are often deceptive. Though the one or two room accommodation seems in many ways rather primitive, it is a fact that most of these agricultural workers have deposits in the bank, the average savings being Yuan 1,000. As soldiers they spent their money on gambling, drinking and prostitutes. Now they can get free land on which to build houses and save for this, they also enjoy welfare benefits which give them and their families educational, recreational and other facilities. I obtained the impression that these people were happy, and that they had gone a long way during those six years from their wolf-surrounded, sand-blown and mosquito-infested tents in the desert to their present conditions.

In addition, I saw the town which the soldiers built. In the spring of 1951 they started to make bricks, and in the summer of that year they began building, with only 30 skilled labourers to guide them. Some of the houses had to be pulled down again, others were perhaps not quite a success. But today these few monuments of unskilled efforts lose themselves in a mass of well-built, clean houses and the town stands now — surrounded by green gardens — on 20 sq. km. of former desert land, with its schools and colleges, cinemas, well-stocked department stores and clean houses. It also has a hospital staffed with 10 doctors and 150 nurses and complete with X-ray equipment and a dental clinic. Everything, one has to repeat again, including the 400 beds, had to be



Department store in the new town of Stone River

brought piece by piece over thousand of kilometres by truck. Stone River has now a population of 35,000 and will eventually have 500,000 inhabitants, as well as some factories which will utilise the agricultural products of the area.

What the Army Construction Corps means for Sinkiang's agriculture, the Petroleum Administration means for the Region's industrial importance. In 1955 the Karamai oilfield, about 400 km. west of Urumchi, was discovered. This is still being prospected, but it is already clear that parts of it, and



Oil drilling in Sinkiang

area of about 60 sq. km., has reserves of well over 100 million tons. Taking 1951 as the base, the yield of the rapidly increasing Karamai wells has grown 112 times since then. Usually visitors are not encouraged to go to Karamai. "There is no road," or "there is nothing to see and it is too far," are the most common excuses. Actually, there is an excellent asphalted road connecting the one leading to Stone River, and there is plenty to see. Derricks are springing up everywhere over the desert, houses supplant the tents and all visible signs speak of more than expected success, though those responsible for it must still keep silent. At the moment methods of production are still being tested so as not to get too much gas pressure. A pipeline will eventually connect Karamai with the new giant refinery which is being built in Lanchow, Kansu Province.

Urumchi is preparing itself for the role of an important industrial city. Its textile mill — also built by the soldiers — produces 2,500 pieces (40 metres each) of cloth per day. This is the first step towards the plan to utilise local products within the region. It employs 3,350 workers earning an average of Yuan 95 p.m., who live in a new housing colony 7 km.

from Urumchi — a little town on its own, with a cinema, assembly and theatre hall, and other amenities. While I went through this modern quarter, camel caravans crossed the street, one of the fantastic juxtapositions of old and new which characterises Urumchi and, indeed, Sinkiang.

The town, while changing rapidly under the hectic building activities, is now becoming increasingly conscious of its status and its history. In the People's Park there is, apart from a little zoo containing some Sinkiang black eagles, wolves and bears, a collection of odd items ranging from prehistoric finds to costumes and books, which are the beginning of a future museum. What made this embryonic collection so charming was the fact that it is under the charge of a most knowledgeable girl of about 16 who, in her enthusiasm, opens glass cases and allows the favoured visitor to handle things.



Dancing in Urumchi

Thus I thumbed through delightful, illuminated Korans brought nearly a thousand years ago from Bokhara, held seals in my hand which a long time ago served high officials to authorise executions. This easy-going and friendly atmosphere permeates life everywhere in Urumchi. During a visit to one of the many department stores I admired a *cutar*. Immediately an old brickmaker came forward, took the instrument, and gave an impromptu concert amidst the admiring shoppers.

The people of Sinkiang are, of course, grateful to the truck, the real hero of their present enjoyment of so many commodities. Great care is, therefore, taken to keep trucks on the road, and one of the industrial enterprises is the October Truck Repair Works where 1,200 workers and 350 technicians repair and overhaul thoroughly 2,000 trucks and 1,000 engines per year. A special feature of this large workshop is that it not only repairs vehicles, but actually produces spare parts as well. 1,950 kinds of the latter and 460 sorts of machine tools can be manufactured in Urumchi locally, which has considerably helped in keeping the trucks moving.

Altogether, Sinkiang is a fascinating symbol of the enormous changes which are taking place in China, and it is one of the most interesting areas to study the actual implementation of political and economic ideas of this, the most controversial country.

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Writing Asian History—4

CHANGING STUDY OF INDIAN HISTORY

By K. A. Ballhatchet

This further article in the series on the writing of Asian history in a period of transition in Asia deals primarily with the Indian sub-continent. Dr. Ballhatchet, whose main interests are in social history and the history of ideas, is on the staff of the London School of Oriental and African Studies. Oxford UP are due shortly to publish his book on "Social Policy and Social Change in Western India, 1817-1830." He is at the moment engaged in preparing other works on aspects of the British connection with India.

"ALL history is contemporary history." Croce's remark can be taken both as a warning and as a challenge. On the one hand, there is the need to escape from the prejudices of our own age and of our own political and social groups. A Marxist may find it almost impossible to believe that a Wesley or a Gandhi could have been moved by religious motives. At the other extreme there are those who find it impossible to believe that Britain's imperial policies have ever been determined by considerations of economic self-interest. A patriotic Englishman may see in the history of British rule in India an ordered and inevitable progress to self-government, culminating in the grant of independence in 1947. But a patriotic Indian may think that this attitude is just another example of the British vice of making a virtue out of necessity. Objectivity is, however, accepted on all sides as a desirable aim. It is generally agreed that anyone who wants to understand the past should try to detach himself from the passions, the prejudices and the almost unconscious presuppositions of his own time and place.

On the other hand, when choosing a subject for historical study it may not be possible or even desirable to ignore the values, the interests and the tastes of the present. Politics, diplomacy and war used to be the staple diet of the historian. The serious study of economic and social history only came late in the nineteenth century. History today is no longer confined to the battlefield, the palace and the government office: it has gone into the market place, the factory and the cottage. It is in this way that historians have been responding to the challenge to make their studies relevant to the interests of the contemporary world.

Historical writing on India has been slow to change in this direction—slower by far than historical writing on Europe or America. Throughout the nineteenth, and indeed for much of the present, century the attention of historians has been concentrated on the political, constitutional and administrative history of modern India—in short, on the doings of the British Government. A number of reasons can be suggested for this.

Comparatively little historical writing had come down from the pre-British period. It was even suggested that the Hindus themselves could have had little or no sense of history, being concerned rather with the timeless worlds of religion and metaphysics. (Some, however, would now say that the explanation is simply that the histories written by the Hindus have unfortunately not survived.) There were

some Muslim chronicles of the deeds of monarchs and defenders of the Islamic faith. But in general there was relatively little of this material for the pre-British period. More serious still: there was even less of the direct evidence deposited incidentally as governments go about their business—the sort of evidence which has proved of fundamental importance in the reconstruction of medieval English history, for example. There was nothing comparable to the records of a government department, like the English Exchequer, against which the statements of chroniclers could be checked. When the British turned to the writing of Indian history, the paucity of evidence alone might have been enough to deter them from venturing into the Hindu and Muslim periods.

There were other factors also. Many of the British who wrote on Indian history were, or had been, administrators in India. As such they might well have been predisposed to investigate the history of the government which they had served. Some were missionaries. The missionary attitude to British rule was often ambivalent. But they also seem on the whole to have found the history of the government, which was British, more interesting than that of the people, who were not. It is perhaps significant that the first serious attempt to write an economic history of modern India was made by an Indian member of the civil service—Ramesh Dutt.

The early British historians of India tended to adopt a censorious attitude towards all things Indian, either criticising them on utilitarian grounds as inefficient or condemning them on religious grounds as immoral. James Mill is a good example. His *History of India* remained a standard work for most of the nineteenth century. He had never been to India. The Directors of the East India Company, however, were so impressed by his *History* that they appointed him to an influential post on their home establishment. His lengthy volumes are studded with contemptuous remarks about the Indian people and about Indian civilisation. "Few nations," he wrote, "are surpassed by the Hindus, in the total want of physical purity, in their streets, houses, and persons." This from a man who had never been to India! He criticised their political system for its "despotic" nature, their agriculture for its "rudeness and inefficiency," their personal character for "dissimulation and falsehood."

Such bitterness was happily rare among British historians. But almost to the end the existence of British power in India seems to have had a stifling effect. As late as 1934 so distinguished a historian as the late Professor Dodwell

could assert that the British Government's "decision to make English the basis of Indian education was inevitable"—the implication being that the criticisms of Indian nationalists were unrealistic. If a government's policies were "inevitable," what was the point of criticising—or opposing—them? In 1936 he could declare that "Mr. Gandhi transports us to the Middle Ages." Such assertions suggest the passions of politics rather than the detachment of the uncommitted historian.

Even missionary writers like Edward Thompson or C. F. Andrews, whose sympathies were with the Congress Party, were unable to refrain from making similar judgments. For example, in his *Zaka Ullah of Delhi* Andrews could say that the "corruption" of the Mughals "brought its own inevitable retribution." In his history of *Suttee* Thompson could say that "it was a higher civilisation that won, both with Akbar and the English."

Either consciously or unconsciously the British historians of India seem to have been preoccupied with the task of justifying the existence of British rule in India. On the other hand, Indian historians were also involved in this situation. They were also fascinated by the history of British rule. Whereas a British historian might emphasise the benefits of law and order, an Indian might emphasise the magnitude and the results of the "drain" of wealth from India to Britain. Whereas a British historian turning to the Mughal period might point to the harshness of the revenue demand before British rule an Indian might look for evidence of self-governing institutions in the ancient Indian village.

Let us hope that 1947 has put an end to such arid debates! There is no place in the writing of history for moral judgements either of periods or of institutions or of persons. What moral algebra could prove the superiority either of good government or of self-government? By what moral standards could we condemn the corruption of a Clive or the cruelty of a Jahangir? By the standards of the twentieth century? That would be anachronistic. By the standards of their own age? But no moralist would say that virtue consists merely in conformity to contemporary standards. Nor is it possible to identify the standards of an age. Some men have high standards, some not so high. But whose standards could be taken as typical of a whole era? The imposition of moral judgements by historians can only lead to confusion. The explanation of the past is surely difficult enough by itself!

After 1947, then, historians both English and Indian should be the more able to study India's history with detachment. On the other hand, in their choice of subjects historians may be responsive to the demands of a new situation. The social policies of the Governments of India and Pakistan may well stimulate a deeper interest in social history, and the disappearance of British rule may free the attention of more historians for the Hindu and Muslim periods.

The emergence of India and Pakistan as independent States may also react upon the general study of history in

this country. Britain, in spite of her long association with India, has hitherto taken little interest in Indian history. Even the history of British rule in India has been generally neglected in British Universities. But the mere necessity of understanding the foreign policies of India and Pakistan may at length drive British Universities to include Indian history in their curricula—just as they have slowly, almost reluctantly, been turning to the history of the United States, and just as they will no doubt eventually devote more attention to Russian history. Not only this. The study of how western movements like nationalism have developed in eastern countries should have a particular interest for the western student. It may even be that western historians have been too parochial in their approach to western history also. When Tod spoke in the nineteenth century of a type of feudalism in the history of Rajasthan he was severely criticised. Feudalism was declared to be an exclusively European institution. But while it may be confusing to see Indian history through European spectacles it may also be narrowing to study, for example, European social or economic structure without the slightest regard for such similarities as may have existed in eastern countries.

Indeed, the confrontation which we find in Indian history between eastern and western ideas and institutions suggests the need for some attention to be paid to the vocabulary of historical writing in general, for the development of concepts applicable both to eastern and also to western history, for the construction, it may be, of a morphology of history.

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¹ *Cambridge Shorter History of India*, p. 718.

² *India*, Part II, p. 236.

ASIAN SURVEY

THE FUTURE OF SOCIALISM IN ASIA

From Alex Josey (EASTERN WORLD SE Asia Correspondent)

AT the close of the ten-day session of the Second Congress of the Asian Socialist Conference, held in November at Bombay, I asked Kyaw Nyein, Deputy Prime Minister of Burma and Treasurer of the Conference, what he thought of the future prospects of Socialism in Asia: what could the Conference, a permanent organisation, do? He replied: "This depends entirely upon the national Socialist parties. The Conference can be no stronger than its weakest link."

When the speeches and the resolutions are put into their proper place this sober truth emerges from the Bombay conference, just as it did from the conference at Rangoon nearly four years ago, which created Asia's permanent Socialist organisation. Not a great deal, which was tangible, was achieved during the three and a half years by the Conference and quite properly the Bombay Congress decided that in future the Secretariat must concentrate upon organisational problems. Socialist condemnation of nuclear weapons and weighty opinions on most other international questions, are perhaps necessary, but much more important is hard work to build up a strong Socialist Party in every State in South-East Asia. This must be the main task of the Conference.

Held just at the time when the fighting was going on in Egypt and Hungary, the congress had a difficult beginning. Fully aware that war in West Asia could quickly spread, the Conference made its position clear at once by appealing to all belligerents to cease fire, and by calling upon the United Nations to exercise its authority "and not hesitate to use sanctions against those who transgress the decisions of the supreme World Organisation."

Although the Chairman, U Ba Swe, the Burmese Premier, and Sutan Sjahrir, former Premier of Indonesia, were among several speakers who roundly and strongly condemned Communist ideology (Sjahrir, in a forceful speech, implying that Communism was Socialism's chief enemy in Asia), sensibly none of the resolutions on organisation instructed the Secretariat actively to combat the rival ideology. Listening to the speeches, I feared someone might want to turn the Asian Socialist Conference into yet another Asian anti-Communist organisation. Fortunately, the Conference decided to concentrate upon trying to prove that democratic Socialism can solve the problems of Asia. Thus, the Conference urged Socialist parties in Asia to work among the peasantry, and to get them organised cooperatively, politically and economically. This is sound advice. In Indonesia the Communists made considerable headway in the general elections because they organised the peasants, while the Socialists, an intellectual party, suffered because they had no roots among the masses. In Malaya there is still a great deal of work to be done in the villages, and endless town meetings and floods of pious resolutions will never alter the necessity for the Socialist worker to get out

into the villages to explain why and how Socialism can improve the peasant's standard of living.

Another organisational resolution recommended that "Socialist parties should endeavour, subject to the specific conditions prevailing in each country, to realise Trade Union unity first on the national level" before trying to do anything about organising Asian trade unions regionally. There was not much else the Conference could recommend. In most countries other than Burma, Socialist influence politically among trade unions is regrettably weak. Singapore workers are closely connected, through trade unions, with the People's Action Party, but this well-organised Socialist Party has never shown any interest in the Asian Socialist Conference, much to the disappointment of Socialists in neighbouring countries.

Once again, the Conference expressed its opinion that member Parties should do more to organise women. Separate women's sections, it was agreed, should be established in every Asian party. If Socialism is to spread among the masses in non-communist countries, women must be organised as Socialist teachers and workers.

To promote interest among youth, the Conference instructed the Secretariat to arrange an Asian Socialist Youth Rally, and to consider the establishment of a Study School in order to teach the philosophy of Socialism and to define the urgent task that Asian Socialism faces. This school will probably be part of the Socialist Training Centre, which the Conference hopes will be established, most likely in Rangoon, next year.

Of the 14 resolutions passed by the Conference nine dealt with the general political situation. Condemning nuclear weapons and demanding disarmament, the Conference appealed to the Powers concerned to suspend forthwith the experimental explosion of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons and to concentrate upon utilising atomic energy for peaceful and constructive purposes: funds hitherto allocated to war preparation should be diverted to the development of under-developed areas. Hailing the upsurge of freedom forces in Poland and Hungary, the Conference expressed the opinion that "these developments have exposed the true character of the Soviet control over east European countries," and recorded its "deep concern" over the armed intervention of Soviet forces against Hungarian freedom. Equally critical of the aggression of two western powers in west Asia, the Conference was worried over the possibility of repercussions on freedom movements in eastern Europe and feared that the serious developments in west Asia could give the Soviet Union a pretext for reorganising Soviet control in eastern Europe.

The Congress demanded the abandonment of all systems of military alliances, the withdrawal of foreign armed forces from the territories of all countries, and the repudiation of colonialism in all its forms. In addition, the early

recognition of the People's Republic of China by the United Nations "as a move to help reduce tension" was advocated, and the hope expressed that Korea and Viet Nam would each be unified through peaceful means. Not quite up to date on the situation in Singapore (Britain and the new Singapore Government had already agreed to reopen independence negotiations), the resolution regretted the earlier breakdown of negotiations and appealed for their resumption. Other parts of this omnibus resolution recognised that West Irian was part of the territory of Indonesia and urged the Dutch and the Indonesians to settle its future through early negotiations.

The Joint Statement of the Fourth Congress of the Socialist International and the Asian Socialist Conference was circulated at the Conference, and the first sentence stressed the grave economic problem of Socialism in Asia. It said, "... all have stressed the deficiency in capital formation in the under-developed countries and emphasised the fact that until this gap is somehow bridged it will not be possible for these countries to find sufficient funds for development. . . their own efforts, however vigorous, will not by themselves succeed in bridging this gap."

Certain observers at the Bombay Conference felt that this was the crux of the whole question as to whether Asia could become Socialist. From where could they get the money to make it work? Other observers pointed out that Russia financed its own great transformation, and that China is doing the same. Why cannot Socialism? They asked the question: Is Socialism in Asia impossible without the help of Capitalism—which, so far as western capital is concerned, has refused to help? An answer to this question was not forthcoming at the Bombay Conference, which dismissed the question with a request that the international organisations such as the International Bank should be urged to play a greater part in assisting under-developed countries to solve their financial problems.

Japan said realistically and bluntly that compulsory savings could produce accumulated capital, and submitted a long paper explaining how Japan quickly developed from an agricultural economy to a modern industrial nation, without the assistance of very much foreign capital. Informative, the paper endeavoured to prove that Japan in the first place got foreign currency (with which to buy machinery) through the sale of silk and food.

From their experience, the Japanese considered that present circumstances were more favourable for Socialism to develop in Asia compared with those which prevailed during the years when capitalism developed Japan. This conclusion they based, to some extent, upon (a) the help

which they hoped could be expected from the Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development (b) the absence of the need to divert capital to war industry, and (c) the abolition of landlordism and the development of cooperative movements in all phases of agricultural activities. No clear-cut definite plan or policy emerged from the Conference on this vital issue of capital accumulation, without which, all agree, economic development on Socialistic or any other lines is impossible. Inajiro Asanuma, Secretary-General of the Socialist Party of Japan hinted at the future possible role of a Socialist Japan (the Socialists confidently hope to win the next election), when he said that the path Socialist Japan will tread would be a much different one than the old Imperialist Japan took.

If Japan intends to become the Socialists' Soviet Union in the East, and if the United Nations does get hold of some capital for distribution, and if the masses in Indonesia and Burma and India and elsewhere can be persuaded to live on a low level for a few more years while working harder (in order to accumulate capital for investment), then, providing the whole region can be loosely organised as an economic whole, Socialism could, I think, provide the answers to the problems. But a Japan which sought Asian markets for the sale of consumer goods alone would not provide the necessary leadership, for a planned economy on a regional basis is essential if Socialist Asia is ever to come into being. It is not enough to condemn Communism and to insist that Socialism is a way of life. Situations must be seen for what they are, and then plans laid accordingly. At the Bombay Conference there was a great deal of lofty idealism and an almost total absence of anything which could be construed as being a clear direction to follow, or plan to emulate.

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ANGLO-FRENCH RULE IN THE NEW HEBRIDES

From A Correspondent Recently in the South Pacific

In October the Anglo-French Condominium celebrated its fiftieth anniversary for it was on October 20, 1906, that an Anglo-French Convention was signed for the joint administration of the New Hebrides, including the Banks and Torres islands to the north. This was, of course, regarded as only a temporary arrangement in order to tide the islands for a few years until the outstanding issues between Britain and France had been disposed of by mutual agreement.

Despite the difficulty of establishing the Condominium because of the differences in the British and French legal systems and the absence of all independent local authority, the convention is still in force today and is practically unchanged. There is a British, French and joint Administration, and a Joint Court. Resident Commissioners direct the two national Administrations, and they jointly supervise the Joint Administration. The Resident Commissioners are responsible to a High Commissioner outside the Group of islands, the French Governor of New Caledonia, at Noumea, and the British High Commissioner for the Western Pacific, at Honiara on Guadalcanal in the British Solomons.

However, consultation is at metropolitan level and is conducted through diplomatic channels so that the High Commissioners rarely meet. Therefore, it is necessary for good relations to exist between the Resident Commissioners. As the Group is not divided territorially the joint administration of all but national affairs is carried out at district level, where administrative officers have equal powers over the same area.

The Joint Administration is responsible for the treasury, public works, customs, posts and telegrams, wireless, surveys, meteorology and a token agricultural department. The heads of departments are equally divided between French and British. The joint services are not part of the overseas services of the two Powers. Health and education are not officially included in the joint service. There are three British mission hospitals and several rural clinics, and since the appointment of a British Medical Officer in 1952 a modest start has been made on rural services. The French provide static medical services with three hospitals.

Education has been almost entirely the responsibility of missions, who receive Government financial assistance on a small scale. The French Administration has opened two or three schools outside the capital in the last few years in addition to its large mixed school. The British Administration subsidises a small mixed school at Vila. Since 1955 the Administrations have shared a small subvention from the Condominium budget. The metropolitan Governments mainly meet the cost of national services, while the Condominium budget supports joint services, and balances at a level of between £300,000 and £400,000.

Nevertheless, the sharing of the administration of the islands has been an obstacle to efficient government, and this together with the economic stagnation before the war and the uncertainty of the future of the Condominium after the war has resulted in the retarding of development. Although both Powers have proposed partition at various times in recent years, the Group is an economic as well as a geographical unit.

Economically the French are superior to the British for they are in easy reach of New Caledonia, control the sea communications and provide a market for the principal product, copra. They are now paying special attention to education and intend spending large sums on capital works. On the other hand, British activity is not so positive as administration and economic interests do not harmonise. Communications to the High Commissioner in the Solomons are poor, and the bulk of trading is with Australia, which provides three-fifths of the imports, and the majority of the British population are Australian. In fact, Australians and New Zealanders formed missions in the New Hebrides long before the formation of the Anglo-French Condominium. The islands are in the Australian defence area. Therefore, it is natural that several Australians feel that they should replace the British share in the Condominium.

The cost of living in the islands has been inflated by lack of labour, temporary wartime and post-war prosperity and dependence on the high cost economics of New Caledonia and Australia. The copra, which forms four-fifths of the total exports, goes to France, and export duty is only 6 percent. The present price of copra is not sufficient to induce producers to grow the full amount so the future of the crop is uncertain. Labour is the limiting factor in producing cocoa and coffee in large quantities, although they grow well. Mineral resources provide the only hope for increased prosperity, but prospecting has been hindered by the lack of mining legislation, which is now being corrected, and inquiries have come from New Caledonia and Australia.

On the whole the 48,000 Melanesians in the islands like being under a joint administration as it gives them the opportunity of playing one partner off against another. This is partly due to the lack of educational facilities which has kept the political development of the islands obscure. Therefore, the joint administration will be faced with a difficult task in introducing measures for political and economic development as few changes have been made in the last fifty years.

AUSTRALIA

Living With Asia

From Charles Meeking
(EASTERN WORLD Canberra Correspondent)

When the Peking Opera Company visited Canberra for a one-night stand on its way to Melbourne (where performances by it had been banned by the Menzies Government during the period of the Olympic Games on the plea that this would prevent "incidents"), many senior civil servants found themselves considerably embarrassed. They had been invited to attend the performance, but they were uncomfortably aware that Australia does not, as yet, recognise Communist China.

They knew, of course, that an Australian trade com-

missioner, who happened to be a nephew of Mr. Menzies, had recently visited Peking, and was recommending expanded trade with mainland China. They were aware that Australian churchmen, journalists and non-Communist academic visitors had all been impressed with China's development, outlook and world importance. Yet they felt that attendance at the performance might mean a black mark on their records, and many declined.

Others, more astute, asked the Department of External Affairs, and were assured that no protocol existed on the question, and that they could decide for themselves. Many members of overseas missions in Canberra went to the show, but as private citizens.

The minor incident illustrated the uncertainty which Australia feels today in its relations, not only with Communist China, but with all the Asian nations which are its near and populous neighbours. It had been felt earlier that recognition of China by Australia might follow the American presidential election, when such action could no longer embarrass the candidates, but the Australian stand on the Suez crisis was seen by many observers as likely to involve some changes in this prospect and in the network of diplomatic and trading relations built carefully during the last few years as part of the Australian programme for economic and military security. Living on the fringe of Asia, the Australian people are always a little uneasy about the future. That uneasiness has increased in the last few months, partly as a result of United Nations moves by the Afro-Asian bloc, although there is no fear of direct attack.

There are nine Asian diplomatic missions in Australia, most of them with headquarters in Canberra. A majority of those missions are from nations which criticised the Anglo-French moves in Egypt—moves which Australia and New Zealand supported, and which, according to Opposition Leader, Dr. H. V. Evatt, were a direct outcome of opinions expressed by the Australian Prime Minister, Mr. R. G. Menzies. In addition, Australia's close defence and other relationships with the United States, through the Anzus Pact and SEATO and other recent negotiations on equipment and strategy, were seen as being endangered. There was never so much feeling in Australia as developed in Britain concerning the United States, and there was no open split among the Liberals to correspond with the Conservative rift in Britain, but there were constant suggestions that External Affairs Minister R. G. Casey had been opposed to the Menzies' policy, and that knowledge of this had kept relations with the US on a more even keel.

At mid-December all these factors had caused no public reassessment of the future role of Mr. Menzies himself, but it was apparent that it might depend on trends of feeling in the Commonwealth and in Australia.

Here again, much would depend on the future of Sir Anthony Eden and other British leaders, on the success of steps by the United Nations to heal the breach in the western alliance, and on what Mr. Menzies might himself propose on the possible concerted activities of the nations of the Commonwealth. He was known to be encouraged by declarations, made after the Suez affair, by Mr. Nehru and Mr. Bandaranaike that India and Ceylon had no intention of leaving the Commonwealth.

In the meantime, the outstanding success of the Soviet Union in the Melbourne Olympics was being viewed with a little concern—and some lack of humour. It was felt in some official circles that Russia might use its place, now

undisputed, as premier sporting nation of the world to overcome setbacks to Communism in several regions, and to stress in propaganda in under-developed regions of Asia and elsewhere the obvious advantages of a Communist regime. In Australia, the major aspect of the aftermath of the Games seemed to be a search for a national anthem, to be played on future occasions.

The local national pride, always a little sensitive, was a little hurt that "God Save the Queen" had celebrated not only Australia's 13 gold medals, but also British, Canadian and other successes.

JAPAN

Mood of Optimism

From A Correspondent in Japan

Japan expects a profit of at least one billion dollars from the Suez crisis by increased sales to South-East Asia. This figure is arrived at as follows: during the past year Europe has shipped to the area between Karachi and Jakarta 2.3 billion dollars worth of goods. 1.3 billion dollars out of this total are items on which Europe practically holds a monopoly, but the balance of one billion dollars Japan will be able to supply. European suppliers are now either virtually cut off from their customers East of Suez, or their lines of communication have become considerably more expensive, be it by shipments around the Cape, or by the using of, experimentally at least, Haifa and Elath as points of trans-shipment. Optimism, therefore, is the mood prevailing in Japan. A record volume of transactions and a general rise in quotations at the Tokyo Stock Exchange reflected correctly, during the first days of November, the appraisal by the Japanese business world of the probable effects of the Suez Canal closure upon the economy of Japan. There was no panic selling and no nose-diving of quotations when the news of the Anglo-French and Israel actions in the Middle East reached Tokyo. On the contrary, charities for the victims in Hungary and in Egypt initiated by the Japanese Red Cross benefited from the assumption of business circles that there is no quick panacea for the Suez crisis, and that the Canal will be closed for some time. Some losses, to be sure, are expected to result from loss of sales to European countries. However, since Japan's trade with Europe amounts to hardly ten percent of her total, these losses will be more than offset by the anticipated gains in all countries east of Suez. Japan's European competitors, pressing her hard from Pakistan to Indonesia, are now less dangerous to her. Great expectations are held for steeply rising sales of machinery, rolling stock, metal products, tyres and tubes, chemical fertilizers and cement throughout the area. An 8,000 ton boat, the ss Nissho Maru, specially fitted as a floating exhibition, is now cruising ports in South-East Asia promoting the sales of Japanese goods. Arms manufacturers in Japan, recently bemoaning the end of hostilities in Korea and in Indo-China and the retarded build-up of the Japanese armed forces, are preparing for exports. The rivals in the Middle East might place orders for shipment of arms through third parties, since Japan, under existing regulations of her Ministry of International Trade and Industry, does not export lethal weapons. Auxiliary military supplies, such as

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optical and communication equipment, are also expected to sell well.

On the other hand, some temporary setbacks are forecast and arrangements are being made to meet any emergencies which might arise from the present situation at Suez. No major perturbances are foreseen in Japan's oil supplies, 75 percent of which originates in the Middle East. Prices might rise as a result of increased freight rates, but there will be no shortage. The Japanese Ministry of Transportation has been somewhat apprehensive over the shortage of tankers. About 51 percent of Japan's oil imports are carried by tankers, the rest by foreign boats. It has become doubtful whether the foreign tankers will, in future, also be available for runs to Japan, and whether increased charterage will not sizably affect Japan's economy and her annual imports of some 12 million tons of oil. The possibilities of recalling Japanese tankers now operating under foreign charter and the conversion of freighters into tankers are considered sufficient to meet any serious emergency.

The situation will be different in the case of raw cotton, potassic and other salts, rock phosphates and steel products. Here, major shifting of the present sources of supply might become necessary. Japan has been buying about 100,000 bales of Egyptian long staple cotton annually. Present stocks in Japan are estimated to suffice for two to three months.

Benefits accruing to Japanese shipping companies and shipyards from the closure of the Suez Canal and the reduction of European shipping to Asian countries are expected to outweigh any setbacks. NYK, OSK and Mitsui, Japan's largest shipping companies, have re-scheduled their sailings, mainly using the round-the-Cape route. NYK alone are anticipating losses because of the impossibility of running

their Japan-Middle and Near East services.

On the whole, weighing both favourable and unfavourable factors, Japanese business has little doubt that the favourable factors are predominant. Finance and business are looking forward to a "Suez Boom" giving Japan another windfall not dissimilar to the result of the war in Korea. Government circles have been more restrained in expressing their opinion. They know that it is not right to rejoice openly over the predicament of others. Therefore, officials of both the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and of the Ministry of International Trade and Industry have been sounding a warning note in the general glee of business optimism. They have been at pains to point to the dangers resulting from rising prices for raw materials, from shortages of shipping and from difficulties in obtaining essential primary materials. Some of the arguments used by Gaimusho (Ministry of Foreign Affairs) officials seem even a little far-fetched with a view to camouflaging the general exhilaration of the business world. One official mentioned the danger of Japanese exporters, in the absence of European competitors, reverting to their old ways of shipping shoddy goods, a step which is sure to backfire in the long run. However, one argument put forward by official sources warrants serious consideration. Japan's basic need is a widespread and variegated trade pattern with the whole world. Improvisation from one war boom to another will not help her to achieve that target, particularly if the fortuitous trade partners are some of the financially not so sound countries of South-East Asia. Opportunistic searches after accidental gains ought to be replaced by trade based on higher and better productivity which would meet Japan's long-term economic requirements.

PAKISTAN

No Change in Policy

From Our Karachi Correspondent

The Eden-Mollet venture into Egypt has had, among many others, the consequence of precipitating, in Pakistan, an unprecedented burst of diplomatic activity. Never, since its creation, has Pakistan witnessed so much concentrated activity in international affairs, nor has so wide a range of important matters been discussed in so brief a period of time, beginning with the problems created by events at Port Said, continuing with a visit from the Prime Minister of Afghanistan, and concluding in December with a visit from Mr. Chou En-lai.

It seems safe to draw certain conclusions from all that has been happening. First, it is clear that Pakistan's foreign policy has undergone no tangible change. Mr. Suhrawardy, the Prime Minister, has repeatedly made it clear that he will not be a party to any isolation of Pakistan; he has defended the necessity of the Pacts—Baghdad, SEATO and others which his own party condemned in May 1956—and he has offered to come to the National Assembly to seek approval of his foreign policy. Secondly, it is evident that Pakistan has played an important role in an effort to stabilise Middle East affairs and it was a victory for Pakistan that Turkey was induced, no doubt as a gesture, to break off relations with Israel. Thirdly, the attitude of Egypt towards

Pakistan has, if anything, deteriorated and although Mr. Suhrawardy does not admit that Colonel Nasser declined to receive him, the facts are that the Pakistan Prime Minister is not visiting Cairo nor have any Pakistan troops proceeded there as part of UNEF. Fourthly, there is no improvement in the relations between Afghanistan and Pakistan, and it does not even appear that the two countries have agreed to exchange Ambassadors. The Pakhtunistan problem—the existence of which Pakistan denies—clearly stands wherever it did.

Fifthly, it is evident that much of Pakistan's activity has been related to the Kashmir problem which Pakistan is determined to pursue and which, it is now rumoured, Mr. Suhrawardy will personally deal with by proceeding to the United States himself in order to appear before the Security Council. (It is, incidentally, quite clear that there are very few people indeed in Pakistan capable of undertaking this difficult task adequately or of maintaining the brilliant standard of advocacy established by Sir M. Zafrulla Khan when he represented Pakistan in this difficult dispute. It may be that realisation of this will compel Mr. Suhrawardy to undertake the task personally). This consideration leads, sixthly, to the conclusion that Mr. Suhrawardy is anxious to build up, after some years of political obscurity, his own stature as an international figure. Lastly, the activity of the President and the Prime Minister has shed revealing light upon the situation of domestic politics.

The joint tour, undertaken by General Mirza and Mr. Suhrawardy has fortified the view that, at the present time, the affairs of Pakistan are being managed by this duumvirate and has lent support to the suggestion that the President takes interest in the fortunes of the Republican Party. This is one interesting result. Another is that Mr. Suhrawardy has had to face a minor crisis in his own party, some of whose members disapprove of the foreign policy. This situation was, undoubtedly, the cause of the postponement of the Awami League's proposed convention in November. The postponement was itself a disappointment to Awami League members, but Mr. Suhrawardy recognised the existence of a challenge and he has since met it with courage and confidence both in East and West Pakistan as his recent speech in Dacca indicates. He has lost some adherents in the western wing—more particularly over the electorate issue, but these were weaker brethren in any case—and he may lose some support in East Pakistan on the foreign policy issue, but among the electors it is probable that he has gained ground and that, after all, must have been the prime purpose of accepting office even although his own party was and is so weakly represented in the House.

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FROM ALL QUARTERS

Higher Education for Aborigines

Many Aborigines are expected to be going to Australian universities soon. University students in the various States are now raising money to provide scholarships to universities for Aborigines. In each State, programmes are under way to raise the education standards of Aborigines, particularly in secondary school training to fit them for universities.

The New South Wales Minister for Education, Mr. Heffron, has said that outstanding work is being done in this field at the La Perouse public school in Sydney. About half the children in La Perouse school are Aborigines. Intelligence tests at the school have shown that the Aboriginal pupils generally have academic ability equal to that of white children.

Malayan Information Officer in UK

The Governments of the Federation of Malaya and Singapore have appointed Enche Mohamed Sopiee bin Shaikh Ibrahim as Information Officer for Malaya in the United Kingdom. Enche Mohamed Sopiee was until recently in charge of the Department of Social Welfare in Kedah, and has been seconded from that Department to the London post for three years. Prior to joining Government service he had been a journalist and a teacher. He has also served as an Unofficial Member of the Federal Legislative Council.

Enche Mohamed Sopiee was awarded a scholarship under the Colonial Development and Welfare Scheme in 1949 to the University of London and successfully completed his studies in Social Science at the London School of Economics and Political Science in 1951.

Asian Committee to Study Legal Questions

Seven countries—Burma, Ceylon, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Japan and Syria—have set up an Asian Committee to study international legal problems and make recommendations to the International Law Commission. The Committee is the result of a proposal made by Burma at a meeting of the Commission in New Delhi two years ago, and it is constituted, initially, for a period of five years. Its tasks will include the study of international legal problems raised by its members, and the exchange of views and information on questions of common interest.

Hindi in German Schools

Perhaps for the first time anywhere outside India, Hindi has been introduced as optional subject for secondary schools in Munich (West Germany). The language is already taught at the University stage in Germany.

Indian Donations for Relief Work

The Indian Red Cross Society has sanctioned Rs.5,000 for the supply of relief parcels for Hungarian refugee children in Austria. An equal amount has been sanctioned for transmission to the Egyptian Red Crescent Society for relief work among victims of the recent armed conflict in that country. Two similar donations of Rs.5,000 each for relief work in Hungary and Egypt have already been made by the Indian Red Cross.

Kashmir-India Tunnel

The first tube of the new Banihal Tunnel providing

all-weather link between Kashmir and the rest of India was opened on December 22 by Vice-President Radhakrishnan. The new tunnel which consists of two tubes is over one mile and a half long and is estimated to cost over Rs.30 million. It lies about 2,000 feet lower than the old tunnel which is usually snow-bound for four months during the winter.

British Expert for India

Sir Malcolm Darling, K.C.I.E., formerly a member of the Indian Civil Service and Chairman of the British Federation of Agricultural Cooperatives from 1949-51 has left for India at the request of the Government of India. He will be there for three months as Consultant to the Planning Commission to review recent developments in the field of cooperation, with reference to programmes in the second Indian Five-Year Plan and to make recommendations for strengthening the organisation of cooperative departments in the Indian States and for training programmes for Cooperative personnel.

The United Kingdom Government are making Sir Malcolm Darling's services available to the Government of India under the Technical Cooperation Scheme of the Colombo Plan.

Cost of Living Rises in Manila

The cost of living index in Manila at the end of October, according to the Bureau of the Census and Statistics, stood at 312.6 (1941 equals 100), the highest since 1953. It compares with 311.4 at the end of September and 305.1 at the end of October last year. The rise in the cost of living has been consistent since February of last year and shows no sign of slackening.

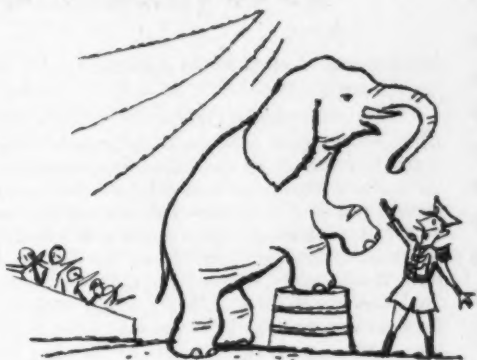
The Middle East crisis has not appeared to be reflected in the cost of living so far. The continued rise is generally attributed to the revised tariffs on US imports, upward revision of duties on goods coming from other countries, generally higher costs of goods coming from countries enjoying unprecedented prosperity, and the Central Bank's restrictions on dollar allocations for the second half of 1956.

Australian Art Afloat

An original travelling exhibition of contemporary Australian art recently left Sydney on a six weeks' tour of the Pacific. Believed to be the first floating art exhibition ever to cross an ocean, the show visited New Zealand, Hawaii, the United States and Canada in the course of its 15,000 miles voyage. It included 88 works by contemporary Australian artists, among them Russell Drysdale, Sidney Nolan, William Dobell and Michael Kmit.

South Korea to Impress University Students

South Korea impressed 57 percent of its university and technical school students into the army last year, according to a recent announcement by the South Korean Ministry of Culture and Education. To obtain more soldiers for the army, Government stated in March last year that military service for university students would no longer be postponed.



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BOOKS on the**Myths and Legends of China** by E. T. C. WERNER (Harrop, 18s.)

This is the fourth reprint of a book first published in 1922, which, most notably in the general introduction, bears many imprints of its date. Nothing there has been brought up to date, where much might well have been. Some of the contentions in the introduction were largely discredited even at the time when it was written, and much has been done, by the archaeologist as well as the literary historian since then which invalidates many of the statements made here—the "Akkadia or Elam" theory of the origins of the Chinese, for example, or the statement that "the original immigrants into North China all belonged to blond races," or the contention that the Chinese language was originally polysyllabic. One wonders, again, what Professor Needham would have to say of the footnote, "The inventions of the Chinese during a period of four thousand years may be numbered on the fingers of one hand." And the predictions, which surely could have been edited without a great deal of inconvenience—"the worship accorded to Confucius was and is (except by 'new' or 'young' China) of so extreme a nature that he may almost be described as the great unapothecized god of China."

The main section of the book, however, carries us over a very wide range of China's myth and legend, and is, to say the least, very full. It does, however, suffer very badly from a complete lack of any attempt to place these stories in any chronological order, either by subject, or by source. So we jump from the earliest days to the Ming dynasty, and then go back to T'ang. Again, the massive bulk of proper names, in spite of a very full index, and a helpful glossary, makes the work indigestible; at times, it is very difficult to guess whether a series of capital letters indicates a place or a person—or both!

The author might well have told us something about the date of his sources, and made some attempt to stratify his material according to the date of origin; it is something of a shock thus to hear of Buddhism at the time of the fighting which led to the Chou conquest in the eleventh century B.C.

G. B.

Race Relations in World Perspective, edited by ANDREW W. LIND (University of Hawaii Press, \$6)

The title of this symposium is taken from the Conference on Race Relations in World Perspective held in Honolulu in 1954, at which the papers by various authors included here were read.

Covering problems connected with the races of practically every part of the world, including the Asian regions of the Soviet Union—though not, for undisclosed reasons, Australia—their aim is to state problems, not to propose solutions. The result is a singularly uniform sense of paralysis and pessimism before the magnitude of the problems.

Andrew Lind, the editor, in his contribution draws a convincing picture of the development of racial discrimination along social lines, with inferior jobs for the "natives" and administrative posts for the "invaders"—but by includ-

WAR EAST

ing among the latter not only the white man, but for example, the Chinese in Malaya, the clear outlines of the essential problem tend to be blurred.

This tendency to confuse the issue is also evident in several of the other contributions. Mr. E. Franklin Frazier, of Howard University, Washington, for instance, mars an excellent survey on the position, past and present, of the Negro in the US by his concluding paragraphs, in which he leaves the firm ground of social conditions to theorise on the lack of a cultural heritage of the Negroes which "has revealed a certain emptiness" in their personality. His conclusion, that the Negro's "personal identification as members of different race groups" is likely to remain, comes as no surprise.

Perhaps the ablest and most cogently reasoned contribution is that of J. S. Furnivall, a member of the Ministry of National Planning in Rangoon, who discusses the "administrative aspect of racial relations in an area conspicuous for racial diversity." His argument is concerned mainly with the enormous economic and social difficulties involved in foreign economic aid to under-developed countries.

One must, of course, accept the terms of reference of the symposium, but it is difficult to escape the impression that if the authors had devoted more of their vast diligence and industry to a consideration of possible solutions, the overall gloom might have been somewhat less. The editor introduces the volume with a reference to the Bandung Conference as a reflection of "the fatuousness of political pronouncements in the absence of adequate social knowledge"—an animadversion on men like Nehru and Chou En-lai, to mention only two, which is hardly redeemed by a rather grudging admission of Bandung's "great moment" to future world peace. Mr. Lind even hints, in all seriousness, that Bandung might have been the better for paying a little more attention to the "far less pretentious" conference in Honolulu the year before.

PAULA WIKING

Return to the Sea by A. H. RASMUSSEN (Constable, 18s.)

Resuming the story of his life at the point where he left off in *China Trader*. Mr. Rasmussen has produced another readable volume covering a period of fifteen eventful years. The earlier section of the troubled years during which China passed from a regime of internally divided warlords to the start of the war with Japan. The story is full of interest for the general reader giving a vivid picture of the little known interior of China during a period which Rasmussen compares to the Wild West period of American history. He tells of the unsettled conditions of the interior with rival chiefs perpetually at one another's throats and of the work done by lone missionaries in the most inaccessible areas to help people with no other medical services at their disposal in the fight against disease. In marked contrast is the picture of the life of the European trading community in a concession in which Rasmussen was a prominent figure in the wool market.

B.H.F.

British Military Administration in the Far East

By F. S. V. DONNISON

One effect of the westward spread of Japanese force during 1941-2 was the crumbling of the British administration in Burma and Malaya. Mr. Donnison shows how, in an attempt to avert collapse, the Army assumed responsibilities which normally fell to the civil authorities. In that part of Burma not overrun, the need for a full military administration was forced upon the Army for operational reasons; and it was then decided that the initial administration of all re-occupied territories in the Far East should be a military responsibility. The plans and preparations for, and the subsequent establishment of, Military Governments in Burma, Malaya, Borneo and Hong Kong are described. The book continues with a discussion of general topics, such as finance, relief, and the administration of justice, which are more conveniently treated functionally than geographically. Finally, it is shown how nationalist aspirations, born of enemy occupation in dominions of Allied Powers who expected to re-assert their authority after victory, created political problems that complicated the return to civil administration.

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Borneo People by MALCOLM MACDONALD (*Jonathan Cape*, 32s. 6d.)

This book is unique. Governors-General have written books before yet never one like this. But, of course, there has never been another Governor-General or Commissioner-General quite like Mr. MacDonald. Although a Proconsul, cloaked in majesty, panoplied in splendour, he established a relationship of his own, whether with the sophisticated Chinese in Singapore or with the up-river pagans in Borneo. It can be expressed as friendliness, as that of the perfect host and the easiest of guests.

The people of Sarawak, of whom Mr. MacDonald writes, and particularly the pagan tribesmen were, in 1946, when the State was ceded to the British Crown, a mixture of naïveté and self-confidence. Naïve because they had had little or no contact with the outside world, self-confident because under the Brooke rule they had retained their self-respect and were allowed to go their traditional ways little troubled by authority. Although having no electoral rights of any kind they yet had in their manner and bearing an individual assurance which both impressed and pleased me when I visited Sarawak. I felt that here were men and women who, having a fixed place in Society, bore themselves as free and equal people before their neighbours.

Mr. MacDonald went to Sarawak at the time of the proclamation of cession on the first of many visits originally intended, no doubt, as a continuation of the personal association identified with Brooke rule but in his later visits it appears to me as if, subconsciously, the motive gradually changed. Mr. MacDonald had his own difficulties in Malaya and came, I think, to regard the Rejang and the other up-country Sarawak rivers and their peoples as a means of escape. The book describes his association with these charming folk and gives a picture of the Commissioner-General wearing the kilt, talking, carousing, dancing, performing pagan religious ceremonies, eating and, if I am not mistaken, whilst he was still a bachelor flirting in the Long Houses. Even in Singapore Mr. MacDonald's association with the Chinese came in, unjustly, for censure by the censorious. How could it not? A Commissioner-General who on an official occasion ceremonially opened a swimming pool by pulling off his trousers and diving in is certain to cause a lifted eyebrow here and there. When a Commissioner-General has pagan people from Sarawak to stay as his guests in his official residence, eyebrows are raised.

This book is also a sketch of Sarawak tribal custom. It gives an account of the pagan peoples, particularly the Iban or Sea Dyaks, the Land Dyaks, the Kayans, the Kenyahs and the Melanaus. Some of them, like the Land Dyaks and the Melanaus, were mild people, and before the Brookes ruled were, in consequence, much preyed upon by other races, the law of the jungle then prevailing in Sarawak as elsewhere. Others were fierce, head-hunting warriors such as the Iban, the Kaynas and the Kenyahs, although head-hunting itself was often a miserable, sneaking practice and not really a proof of courage.

Since cession in 1946, gradually by way of District, Divisional and Legislative Councils, parliamentary and local government democracy is being introduced. By means of schools, clinics, agricultural and domestic science courses, ordinances, rules and regulations the old order is rapidly changing but before it changed Mr. MacDonald was there to net it like a beautiful, fluttering butterfly before our eyes, a way of life which man has lived since the beginning of

time. Naturally the changing of the old order, changing with bewildering rapidity, has brought its problems and its tensions and these are exemplified by the story which runs through the book like a scarlet thread, of the great Iban Chief the Temonggong Koh and his lovely, wayward daughter Segura.

The Temonggong Koh was himself an example of how rapidly things were changing. The backs of his hands from the finger nails to the wrists, were tattooed indigo blue. This denoted a mighty head-hunter, since one head removed earned the right to have merely the joint of one finger tattooed. Yet Temonggong Koh at the time the book was written was a member of the Legislative Council and had even opened a retail shop in the nearest town. He it was who, with his wife and daughter, stayed with Mr. MacDonald in Singapore, travelling by air and seeing the sights. In fact, I knew him myself and a more dignified and courteous old gentleman I have never met.

There are 44 photographs all taken by the author. All are good, some quite beautiful. Nevertheless there are one or two criticisms which must be made. In the first place there is no index and the absence of one leads to irritation and time wasting, in the second there is no map and it is not easy to obtain maps of Sarawak to follow Mr. MacDonald's journey. I, personally, also like to accompany my author on a map, and in this book one would be a great help.

LORD OGMORE

Beware of Africans by REGINALD REYNOLDS (*Jarrols*, 18s.)

Outside Broken Hill, Northern Rhodesia, a road sign for motorists reads *Beware of Africans*—which provided Mr. Reynolds with the title of his book. He cites many such examples of white arrogance towards the indigenous peoples of the African continent, which he had ample opportunity to observe on what he describes as "a pilgrimage from Cairo to Cape," lasting seven months.

To those who believe that South Africa alone is a country of racial prejudice, oppression, or at best, patronising benevolence from the whites, the book is a revelation. In every country where the Africans are not themselves in charge of their affairs, the author found them made deeply aware of their inferior status. He gives many examples of this, among them a very revealing one of the African feeling towards those who try to be their benefactors. Writing of a Mrs. Coleman, manager of an inter-racial Theatre Group in Bulawayo, whom he describes as "a really great woman" who, "alone of the Europeans there, appeared to have the complete confidence of the Africans," he relates how she was introduced by an African chairman to an audience of Africans as "the only European I know on whose lips the word *welfare* has never been heard." The comment speaks volumes on African-European relations.

Mr. Reynolds is a man of warmth and kindness, capable of meeting people of every kind on a basis of human equality. His book is written with freshness, acute observation and sympathetic understanding.

PAULA WIKING

Trade and Finance in the Bengal Presidency (1793-1833) by AMALES TRIPATHI (*Bombay: Orient Longmans*, 30s.)

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ing together with the Lord Mayor as Chairman resolved to form an association for trading with India, and particularly in what became the Bengal Presidency.

This association, known as the East India Company, received its first Charter in 1600: its aims were purely commercial. For 150 years the Company confined itself to extending its trade, but the difficulties of protecting the operations of commerce in the midst of the anarchy that prevailed in the areas where the Company's settlements were, at length forced them to arm in defence of their factories. At one time, in 1677-78, these annoyances were such that they all but abandoned trade in Bengal. The example and rivalry of a powerful foe, the French East India Company, led them to take an active part in the political intrigues of the numerous native chiefs, and from this, step by step, a simple body of traders became transformed into a recognised branch of the British Government, exercising supreme authority over the whole of India from the Indus to the Malay Peninsula. It was not until 1858 that this administration was transferred to the Crown.

But all power corrupts, and it was not long before it became obvious that the Company had no intention of sharing its trading privileges: in other words, it succumbed to the practices which it had been formed to destroy. At first, except as a matter of principle, this was of no great moment, for trade by modern standards was comparatively unimportant, but when the industrial revolution got under way in England, merchants here began to resent the restraints that the Company placed upon them (even as early as under the reigns of James I and Charles I, the London merchants had railed at these restrictions). As British factories became organised on a modern scale, specially the textile trades and the iron and steel industry, this became a serious matter. Not only were markets necessary for the finished products, but it became imperative to find cheap raw materials.

The Regulating Act of 1773, under Hastings, established the influence of the Crown, or rather of Parliament, for the first time. The Charter of 1793 endeavoured to effect a compromise between the interests of the Company, the shipping lines (which had been the subject of discrimination), the agency houses, and the British manufacturers, and this compromise is traced very carefully by the author of this work. The Company's monopoly of trade was abolished in 1833, and almost immediately opened up India to the full impact of the industrial revolution. One of the first sufferers was the Indian textile industry, but on the other hand there was a remarkable growth of trade in raw materials.

On this vital period of Indian history, Tripathi has chosen the years between the Regulating Act of 1793 when the economic interests of the UK began to impinge upon those of India, and the ending of the Company's monopoly in 1833. It is a period that cannot be treated in isolation, as the author realises: it is the logical sequence of events that preceded it and it itself affected the years that followed. In fact, the period 1793-1833 enshrined the germ of all that has occurred subsequently.

The work shows unmistakable signs of patient and intelligent research, with a wealth of statistical material. It is completely free from bias, not because there is little scope for it, but because the author has used a scientific approach in all its purity. It would, in fact, be interesting to see the author turn his attention to Indian problems of the present day.

L. DELGADO

INDIA'S GREAT POET

By Mervyn D. Coles

CORRESPONDING to the European Dark Ages were the years 200-300 A.D. in Indian history, the years that followed the fall of the Kurshan dynasty. Then came a renaissance of learning with the Gupta era and a new line of sovereigns were proud to be the patrons of literary men. The result was a most brilliant epoch in the history of India—a time of peace, of political unity, of justice, of flourishing of the Arts, of travel and advancement in the Sciences. This period was in complete contrast to the one that preceded it. Relations with China were restored. Ideas from the Grecian and Roman Empires were incorporated with Indian modes of architecture. A greater freedom than ever before was given to the individual, capital punishment was abolished and the rather negative attitude of Buddhism was replaced by the more spectacular and optimistic views of Brahminism. A Chinese scholar, Fu-Lien, who visited India during this time was favourably impressed with the new order and has left glowing accounts of the peacefulness and prosperity of India during the Gupta epoch.

Many brilliant poets lived during this time, but one, Kalidasa, outshines them all. In the middle of the 5th Century A.D. the great ruler, Chandragupta the Third, kept at his court nine outstandingly intellectual men who became known as the "Nine Jewels." One of these, the poet-dramatist, of the group was Kalidasa. The biographical details of Kalidasa are lost to antiquity and have given rise to much discussion and legend. Some authorities of Sanskrit literature refute the "Nine Jewels" of Chandragupta and place Kalidasa much earlier, others later in the 6th Century A.D. and a few as late as the 12th, but the generally accepted theory is that he was a member of the court of Chandragupta the Third. Legends surround his birth, some believe he was the son of a cowherd and others say he had a noble ancestry. Although biographical details are absent Kalidasa was a true son of genius and his fame has not been limited to the country of his birth, but has spread throughout the world. Not only has he impressed his own countrymen, but the beauty of his poetic style has won praise from many Occidental men of letters. Bana, a poet of his own country and contemporary with him, wrote:—

Where find a soul that does not thrill
In Kalidasa's verse to meet
The smooth, inevitable lines
Life's blossom-clusters, honey sweet?

Goethe, after reading a translation of Kalidasa's greatest dramatic work, *Sakuntala*, said:—

Would'st thou the young year's blossoms and the fruit of
its decline,
And all by which the soul is charmed, enraptured, feasted,
fed,
Would'st thou the earth or Heaven itself in one sole name
combine?

I name thee, O Sakuntala! and all at once is said.

Sakuntala is the play that has given Kalidasa his unique fame. A king journeys to a hermitage and there falls in love with the foster-daughter of the hermit, Sakuntala. He marries her, but their happiness is short-lived as an urgent message makes it imperative that the king should return to

his court. He leaves Sakuntala behind and overcome by grief she is rude to an old ascetic who visits the hermitage. The ascetic is enraged and curses Sakuntala telling her that the king will forget her. But the lost memory of the king is dependent on a ring which Sakuntala wears. Unfortunately she loses the ring. She goes to the king's court, but he does not recognise her and she is rudely dismissed. In a mountain retreat she bears his son and calls him Bharata. Meanwhile the lost ring has been picked up by a fish and a fisherman noticing a malformation in the jaw of one of his catch removes the ring and takes it to the king. Memory floods back, but an enemy invader has to be overcome. With his kingdom at peace he goes to look for Sakuntala. He flies in an aerial car and on alighting on a mountain top remarks on the surrounding scenic beauty.

How wonderful is the appearance of the earth as we rapidly descend!

Stupendous prospect! Yonder lofty hills
Do suddenly uprear their towering heads
Amid the plain, while from beneath their crests
The ground receding sinks; the trees whose stems
Seemed lately hid within their leafy tresses,
Rise into elevation and display
Their branching shoulders; yonder streams,
Like silver threads, but now were scarcely seen,
Grow into mighty rivers; lo, the earth
Seems upward hurled by some gigantic power.

The king sees a young boy playing with a group of lion cubs and is intrigued by their antics. The boy leads the king to Sakuntala and all ends well. *Sakuntala* is of great dramatic value, the plot introduces tragedy and comedy and the whole is presented in a delightful poetical style.

Like Shakespeare Kalidasa borrowed a number of plots from old manuscripts and frequently mixed humans with ethereal beings. This is seen in one of his earliest plays, "Malarikagnimitra," a drama based on historical records of the Sunga dynasty. "Vikramorvasi" is founded on an old story of the Rig-Veda and deals with the love of a mortal king with a heavenly nymph.

The most popular of Kalidasa's poetical works is, *Kumarasambhara*. Here he was influenced by the new return of Brahminism and the entire work deals with the mythology surrounding the Hindu trinity, Brahma, the creator, Vishnu the preserver and Shiva the destroyer. The work is very long and is divided into seven cantos, but judging from the plot the work is unfinished. Why it was left in this state is a mystery for Kalidasa wrote a large number of poems after this one.

Kumarasambhara begins with a description of the home of Shiva in the lofty Himalayas. Obviously Kalidasa took an interest in Yoga and like the ancient exponents of this art attributed the Himalayas with being the home of the great Yogi-masters or avatars. He describes the supernatural atmosphere of these mountains and the ethereal fairy-like beings which roam in the deodar forests just below the snow-line and on the banks of the head-waters of the Ganges. The first canto ends with a picture of Shiva sunk deep in meditation being brought food and drink by a

maiden, Uma. In the second canto a demon attacks the gods and Shiva is deemed the only one capable of overcoming this enemy, but he must be enticed to take battle by falling in love with Uma. The Hindu equivalent of Cupid is called in, Kama. Just as Kama is making ready to fire a love shaft into Shiva's heart the great god turns and with a flashing of his eyes reduces Kama to ashes. Canto 4 is a long lament by Rati for her husband, Kama.

"Thou hast never displeased me; thee I have never wronged; why then, without cause, dost thou hide thyself from thy weeping Rati?"

Uma also is lamenting for her quest has failed and her love for Shiva has increased. In Canto 5 she lives an austere life in the mountains where she is visited by a hermit. He questions her and finds the reason for her self-torture. On learning the reason he reveals himself as Shiva.

"From this moment, oh drooping maiden, I am thy slave brought by thy penance," so spake he whose crest is the moon, and straightway all the fatigue of her self-torture vanished, so true it is that fruitful toil is as if it had never been."

The last two cantos are descriptions of the festivities surrounding the marriage of Shiva to Uma. In his great epic Kalidasa's style is seen at its best. The poem abounds in vivid metaphors and similes clearly drawn. Frequently he compares natural phenomena to the moods of humans—the mountains, the rivers, the winds are the joys and sorrows of mankind. His metrical skill is without parallel in Indian literature. In this epic cantos 1, 3 and 7 are written in the same metre, but the other cantos are all different.

Three other poetical works of Kalidasa are noteworthy, an early work, "Rtusamhara," a late work, *Meghaduta* and *Raghuvansa*. The first mentioned is a poem on the seasons. He divides the year into six parts, the summer, the monsoon, the autumn, the winter, the early and late spring. The whole work strikes an original note by being concerned with the emotions of lovers during the seasons. Also he commences with a description of summer and not of spring as most Occidental poets do when writing of the seasons. The monsoon is compared to a king:—

The rain advances like a king

In awful majesty.

The autumn is a maiden and the late spring a stalwart soldier.

In *Meghaduta* the similes and metaphors are elaborate—typical of the mature Kalidasa's work—and the metre is complex. As in *Kumarasambhara* the plot is founded on ancient tales of Brahminism and has affinity with the great Vedic epic, *Ramayana* in which Rama laments for his captured wife, Sita. In *Meghaduta* Yaksha weeps because he has been separated from his wife by his master, Shiva. In his abode of exile Yaksha sees a passing cloud and entices it to bear a message to his wife. The journey of the cloud is beautifully depicted as it travels over the Ganges to the sacred mountain, Kailasa, to the lake Manasa whose waters refresh it as it gazes on the golden lotus flowers and the flights of swans that pass beneath it. At last the cloud reaches the home of the beloved and seeing it as she awakens from her slumber is filled with fidelity and certainty of reunion with her husband. This poem is outstanding for its descriptions of the lands through which the cloud passes and the contrast picture of the emotional states of the sorrowing husband and wife.

According to ancient Sanskrit rules of composing

poetry a poem should commence with a prayer, then a brave and strong hero should be introduced. The plot should revolve around the battles fought by the hero and his final great triumph. There should be descriptions of towns, festivities and natural phenomena. Two qualities must be stressed, surface sentiment and underlying emotions. The cantos should be divisible into five distinct parts, the prayer, a short scene of action, a section describing emotions and places, the climax and a final triumphant outburst from the hero. *Raghuvansa* closely follows this classical plan. A king is childless because he has cursed a sacred cow. As penance he undertakes the protection of the cow's daughter, Nandina, and saves her from a lion by offering his own body in exchange. Observing this gallant action the sacred cow relents and a son is born to the king. This son, Raghu, becomes the hero of the epic. His first adventure comes when he is given a steed to guard before a sacrifice. He loses the horse, but with the aid of Nandina learns that it has been taken by Indra. He battles with the mighty god and recaptures the horse. The King is greatly impressed with this gallant action and abdicates in favour of his son retiring to the forests to lead the life of an ascetic. Raghu gradually develops into a great leader and eventually overcomes the whole of India. He marries and has a son, Aja. When Aja reaches manhood Raghu retires to the forest and Aja reigns. He is not a war-minded king, but is a patron of learning, especially of Yoga. Raghu dies young and is buried with full yogic honours by Aja. Here one would expect the poem to end, but Kalidasa continues it. Aja is slain by jealous princes and his aged grandfather is recalled to the throne. To him are born sons, incarnations of Vishnu, and one is Rama. Then follows the entire romance of Rama and Sita told with sprinklings of miraculous adventures. Rama becomes king for a short while and his consort, Sita, is taken away by a goddess of the Earth. The broken hearted Rama steps into a fiery chariot and disappears. Even at this point the poem does not end, but continues with the romance of Rama's son and concludes with a list of kings showing gradual weakening of character until the line dies out. The poem has nineteen cantos and a total of over one thousand and five hundred stanzas.

After the death of Kalidasa Indian poetry did not reach such a great height again until the nineteenth century with the advent of Rabindranath Tagore. Kalidasa with his dramatic powers, his ability to express himself equally well in both narrative and lyric poems, his descriptive powers and his ability to penetrate the deep emotions of human nature was unique.

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DISAPPEARING CULTURES

By Georges Fradier

AFTER years of unrewarding effort, scholars and linguists are still trying to decipher the mysterious script of Easter Island which has been the cause of so much speculation. In 1914, there was still one very old man who could read and write this script. But he died before anyone could question him for reliable and detailed information. With him died a tradition reaching back centuries and perhaps millennia.

In Asia, sixty-five years ago, members of an expedition to Kafiristan found fierce independent tribes, speaking Indo-European languages and using bows and arrows, whose ways of life and ancient pagan religion could scarcely have changed since the days when Alexander the Great passed through these regions. A few years later, when Kafiristan was conquered and Islamised by the Afghans, the Kafirs' ancient culture and religion disappeared for all time.

In 1902, two Swiss anthropologists travelling in the Southern Celebes discovered a group of cave-dwellers, the Toala, who appeared to be the last survivors of the island's most ancient aboriginal population. The anthropologist's brief report has often been used by scholars as a basis for learned hypotheses, but no one ever thought of organising an expedition to obtain more detailed information on these strange people. When the region was finally visited by Dutch scientists, thirty years later, the Toala had completely disappeared.

One could go on listing such lost opportunities by the hundred—stories of scholars who arrived too late, who should have been able to study living peoples and who now are obliged to work among tombs. The cultures of Easter Island, of the Kafirs and the Toala might have been studied, recorded and described while there was still time, when they belonged to living peoples. A language which dies, a religion abandoned, a culture which disappears, tribes which are absorbed by neighbouring peoples—these are irreparable losses for science. Yet this process has been going on ever since the 16th century, when European culture started to spread. From then on the cultures of other peoples have undergone profound changes and sometimes whole tribes have disappeared before their ways of life and languages could be recorded.

Today, ethnologists are working against time to save what can still be saved. They compare their situation to that of men marooned on an iceberg with the ice daily melting under their feet. They say that there are still many so-called "primitive" cultures which have never been thoroughly investigated. There are tribes and languages which are gradually dying out, religions which soon will be forgotten. They must be studied now before it is too late, otherwise scientists of the future will have to work from incomplete information, from piece-meal accounts, and data which is indispensable to the true understanding of the history of the human race will be lost for ever.

The cry to preserve for science whatever can still be saved was raised more than eighty years ago, and has been repeated innumerable times by innumerable scholars. Much

has been accomplished in these eighty years, but not nearly enough, and today the threat is infinitely worse. The general concern felt by scientific circles was voiced at the 4th International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences at Vienna, in 1952, by the Austrian scientist Robert Heine-Geldern: "Are we to go on with research at the present rate and in the present haphazard manner?" he asked, "or should we not make a supreme effort to multiply, intensify and coordinate research? . . ." There are plenty of examples of research which can still be undertaken and should be undertaken immediately. In India, there are a large number of ethnic groups which have never been studied. Until a few years ago, for instance, the very existence of a relatively large tribe, with a practically unique culture, the Apa Tani in the eastern Himalayas, was completely unknown. The same is true of the Philippines. On the island of Negros, for example, a pagan tribe, discovered during the last war, only twenty miles from the coast and "civilised life," were still practising head-hunting.

According to scientists our ignorance of several other tribes in Burma, Viet Nam and Indonesia is almost as great, while in South America, to quote Professor Wendell Bennett, "significant research is still in its infancy. . . . Many of the published accounts," he writes, "are little more than casual by-products from travellers and local residents. . . ." The tribes of Brazil are among the best known; yet, of the thirty-one language families of the country, only one has been adequately studied. As for Africa, whole cultures are on the point of disappearing before having been properly investigated and recorded.

To meet this crisis in research, ethnologists everywhere have declared a kind of "state of emergency." Meeting in Philadelphia last September for their fifth International Congress, they established an International Union of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences and adopted a unanimous resolution requesting Unesco and the International Labour Organisation "to stimulate anthropological research among populations whose cultures and languages are threatened with change, disintegration or extinction." This resolution has been sent to all Unesco National Commissions in the Organisation's Member States.

To meet this challenge, the help of foundations, universities and scientific societies everywhere is urgently needed. The aid required by ethnology is modest: it would be sufficient if it equalled the support given in other fields where research is perhaps not so urgent. In this connection, Professor Heine-Geldern recalled at the Vienna meeting the enormous sums spent for the purpose of climbing Mount Everest. "These sums," he said, "would have sufficed to finance a number of ethnological expeditions exceeding even our wildest dreams. It is difficult to imagine that ascending the last few hundred feet to the summit was of such profit to science that it really justified the expenditure. But even if that were so, the fact would still remain that Mount Everest will be there in a thousand years, while innumerable tribes, cultures and languages will have vanished thirty or forty years hence."

ECONOMIC SECTION

INDIA'S HEAVY INDUSTRIES

By Manubhai Shah (Indian Minister of Heavy Industries)

HEAVY industries and particularly engineering and chemical industries are the key to the industrialisation of any country because from them flow the large scale industries, the big enterprises, the medium sized industries and the important and widespread ancillary and feeder small scale and cottage industries. The heavy and the engineering and chemical industries are producers of the vital capital goods and industrial raw materials that are needed by the other chains of industries. Any country's progress can be easily measured by the state of its engineering, chemical and heavy industries. These key and heavy industries have a very vital role today in the industrial development of our country or in industrialising our national economy.

Our industrial index stands at 136.5 (February 1956) taking base year 1951 as 100. This is undoubtedly satisfying, but the picture of the development of engineering and chemical industries is far more encouraging. On an average, the industrial index of the engineering group of industries today stands at 192 and chemical industries at 165 taking

basic year 1951 as 100. This shows that these industries have developed far more than the other sectors. This is particularly gratifying because unless the production of capital and producer goods moves faster than the production of other manufactures, it will not be possible for our economy to accelerate the tempo of industrialisation. It is an obvious truism that industry which builds industries has to progress faster and has got to be more broad-based so as to assist production; and in any backward economy the emphasis has rightly to be placed on heavy engineering industries, heavy chemical industries, on machine building, on machine tools, on manufacture of capital goods and manufacture of industrial raw materials.

From the results of our First Five Year Plan, I now give, in brief, an outline of the increase in production in a few major components of heavy industries, and also our targets of production for the Second Five Year Plan of the more important items of key and heavy industries.

	Actual production 1951	1955-56	Target for 1960-61
Steel	1,100,000 tons	1,380,000 tons	4,500,000 tons
Pig iron	350,000 tons	380,000 tons	5,500,000 tons
Ferro manganese	28,000 tons	28,000 tons	800,000 tons
Aluminium	3,677 tons	7,500 tons	1,000,000 tons
Paper and paper board	114,000 tons	200,000 tons	200,000 tons
Newsprint	—	4,000 tons	40,000 tons
Rayon	0.4 mil. lbs.	15 mil. lbs.	100 mil. lbs.
Staple Fibre	—	16.2 mil. lbs.	32 mil. lbs.
Chemical pulp	—	—	30,000 tons
Petroleum	0.25 mil. tons (capacity)	3.6 mil. tons	6 to 7 mil. tons
Coal	32.3 mil. tons	38 mil. tons	60-65 mil. tons
All type of motor vehicles	(all assembly only or imports)	21,610 Nos.	80,000 to 90,000 Nos.
Diesel engines (Up to 30 h.p.)	7,246 Nos.	10,220 Nos.	20,000 Nos.
Textile machinery	Rs.1.30 crores	Rs.4 crores	Rs.17 to 20 crores
Tea processing machines	Rs.0.33 crores	Rs.0.68 crores	—
Machine tools	Rs.0.45 crores	Rs.0.80 crores	Rs.10 to 12 crores
Transformers	193,791 kVA	564,713 kVA	1,360,000 kVA
Electric motors	142,799 h.p.	251,897 h.p.	600,000 h.p.
Steel structurals	30,486 tons	90,000 tons	400,000 tons
Steel castings	8,567 tons	15,000 tons	50,000 tons
Ammonium sulphate	50,604 tons	393,095 tons	200,000 tons
Superphosphate	61,020 tons	74,165 tons	720,000 tons

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Sulphuric acid	106,932 tons	164,842 tons	5 to 6 lakh tons
Soda ash	47,532 tons	77,272 tons	250,000 to 300,000 tons
Caustic soda	14,724 tons	34,253 tons	200,000 tons
Liquid chlorine	5,268 tons	11,577 tons	25,000 tons
Alum	2,460 tons	4,370 tons	50,000 tons
Alum sulphate	19,350 tons	27,690 tons	3,000 tons
Copper sulphate	505 tons	1,045 tons	5,000 tons
Ammonium chloride	—	1,683 tons	

This brief outline is illustrative and gives us a picture of how we have moved so far. I have also mentioned the estimated targets which we have got before us for the Second Five Year Plan against the above few items. This shows how fast we propose to move in the heavy industries. This roughly represents two to three times production in most of the fields and four to five times in several industries.

The above targets for the period of the Second Five Year Plan are only tentative and they represent the minima and not the maxima. We hope that with the cooperation of the industries and the Government and the consuming public, we will be able to outstrip all these targets, if possible within the first three years of the Plan. As our Prime Minister has often said, our national plan is flexible and it is under continuous and constant review by the planners.

The plans for India's new steel plants are as follows. Rourkela is scheduled to go into production by September 1958; Bhilai will follow and is expected to start production by October 1958, and Durgapur by June 1959. Between the three plants, we hope to produce 2.25 million tons of finished steel and 6.5 lakh tons of pig iron. The Tata Iron & Steel Co., Mysore Steel Works and the Indian Iron and Steel Company will have completed their expansion programmes and reached the figure of 2.4 million tons of finished steel and 200,000 tons of pig iron annually as against their present production of 1.14 million tons of steel and 314,000 tons of pig iron. This will mean that as against our last year's production of 1.2 million tons of indigenous steel and about 300,000 tons of pig iron, we will have 4.68 million tons of steel and 885,000 tons of pig iron by the end of the Second Five Year Plan. Possibly we will be able to produce somewhat larger quantities than this, say up to 5.5 to 6 million tons by the end of the Second Plan period.

Preparations are also being made for the establishment of plant for heavy forgings, grey castings and steel castings, starting with an annual production of 6,000/7,000 tons of forgings, 12,000 tons of grey castings and 14,000 tons of steel castings, and will be so designed as to be capable of expansion.

The experiments on low shaft furnaces, particularly in Germany, have been very promising. Until now it was not very profitable and practicable to utilise inferior grades of iron ore and inferior non-coking coals. Now these inferior grades are being utilised for the production of pig iron and steel. The Indian Council of Scientific & Industrial Research is establishing a 20-ton per day pig iron low-shaft furnace plant at Jamshedpur on an experimental basis. An industrialist also is setting up a similar plant in Orissa. The success of the low-shaft furnace in India is likely to revolutionise the manufacture of pig iron, particularly because it will enable medium size and small size decentralised production of pig

iron on a very widespread basis. There are several areas in India where inferior ores, lignite and non-coking coals are available. With the working of the low-shaft furnace, it will be quite possible to set up small 10,000, 20,000, 50,000 and 100,000 tons per annum plants for the production of pig iron of different qualities. This will also reduce the burden on the pig iron and steel plants and will enable most of the pig iron output of the big steel plants to be utilised for the manufacture of steel.

In the field of heavy machine building the Russians have sent a team of experts to advise on the setting up of the central heavy machine industry. A similar group of British experts will survey our heavy engineering industry and suggest methods of enlarging and diversifying it.

We have also to consider the import and purchase policies in respect of machinery and engineering goods. Full scope and incentives are being given to every item of indigenous manufacture, for local consumption as well as for export purposes. As regards the purchase policy, it has for its objective the encouragement of industries. Preference is given to indigenous manufactures and special consideration is shown to the products of medium and small-sized units by the Central Government and all the State Governments.

Active steps are being taken to encourage the production of machinery for manufacturing cement, sugar refining, and machine tools. In five years' time, India will be in a position to manufacture most of her requirements of textile machinery, cement manufacturing machinery for cement plants for an annual production of 1.5 to 2 million tons of cement; sugar machinery for eight to twelve complete sugar mills per year; machine tools worth about Rs.10 to 11 crores a year; more or less complete self-sufficiency in road rollers with a capacity of 200 to 400 road rollers a year; jute, paper, chemicals and rayon machinery in large measure and printing machinery, boilers and other machinery and equipment. It is hoped that at the end of the Second Five Year Plan we shall be in a position to manufacture about 60 percent of our country's machinery requirements. This will also, directly or indirectly, give added impetus to the increased production of capital goods and to the setting up of consumer goods industries.

In the field of chemicals, drugs and dyestuffs, our present annual imports are Rs.23 crores of chemicals and fertilisers, Rs.18 crores of dyestuffs, and Rs.15 crores of drugs and pharmaceuticals, as against our indigenous annual production of Rs.28 crores of chemicals and fertilisers, Rs.48 crores of drugs and medicines, and of Rs.3 crores of finished dyes. At the end of the Second Plan we are planning for self-sufficiency in chemicals and fertilisers and about 75 percent of national requirement of drugs, dyes and intermediates aggregating to over Rs.75 crores per year.

At present, transport difficulties are a handicap. The railways have themselves a heavy programme for overcoming the shortage of transport. However, in this connection, it would be very wise to consider dispersal of manufacturing units in various regions, if possible in proximity to consuming centres or availability of essential raw materials. All these new industries, both private and state-owned, will need a very

(Continued on page 54)

BRITISH INDUSTRY BUILDS DURGAPUR

ON October 31 last, the final contract for the construction of a complete iron and steel works at Durgapur was signed between the Government of India and the British consortium ISCON (Indian Steelworks Construction Company Ltd., London). The decision to build this major steel works at Durgapur, situated 110 miles north-west of Calcutta on the main railway line from Calcutta to Delhi, was based on the recommendations of the Colombo Plan mission which was proposed by the UK Government and which, under the leadership of Sir Eric Coates, visited India in April 1955 to advise the Government of India on the development of the iron and steel industry.

At the beginning of 1956 a "broad agreement" on this project which will make a major contribution to the steel making capacity of India during the Second Five-Year Plan was signed in Delhi. Later an Indian Government delegation, headed by Mr. S. Bhoothalingham, Secretary to the Ministry of Iron and Steel, came to London to conclude negotiations of Iron and Steel, came to London to conclude negotiations.

The iron and steel producing sections of the Durgapur works will have a rated capacity of 1,250,000 tons of ingot tons of steel and 360,000 tons of pig iron a year. The construction programme provides for the completion of the entire works by August 1961, but the first and second blast furnaces with adequate coke-making capacity and ancillary services will be in operation by November 1959 and May 1960 respectively. Due to the structure of UK industry no

single British industrial firm could undertake the complete equipment and construction of such works, and ISCON which signed the agreement with the Indian Government is a consortium of the following thirteen British companies: Davy and United Engineering Company Ltd.; Head, Wrightson & Co. Ltd.; Simon-Carves Ltd.; The Wellman Smith Owen Engineering Corporation Ltd.; British Thomson-Houston Company Ltd.; The English Electric Company Ltd.; General Electric Company Ltd.; Metropolitan-Vickers Electrical Export Company Ltd., Sir William Arrol & Co. Ltd.; Cleveland Bridge & Engineering Co. Ltd.; Dorman Long (Bridge & Engineering) Ltd.; Joseph Parks & Son Ltd.; The Cementation Company Ltd.

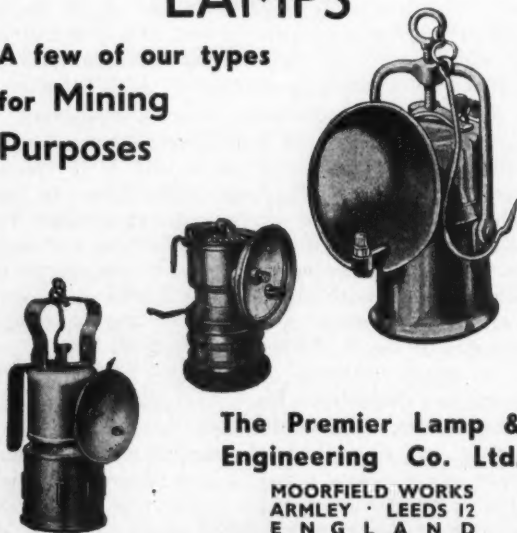
The technical coordination of the Principal sections and ancillary departments has been carried out by the Metallurgical Equipment Export Company Ltd., London, which in 1955 discussed with the Government of India, the construction of the works by a British consortium and which laid the foundations of ISCON. The importance of this contract for further development of the economic relations between UK and India has been fully realised in Britain, and the Government agreed to provide a loan of £15 million to India in addition to a seven-year credit facility of £11.5 million agreed upon by several British banks, including Lloyds Bank Ltd., in respect of the sterling portion of the contract.

It is significant, that the UK Government announced their willingness to train all technicians required for the Durgapur steel works under the Colombo Plan. The prestige value of the Durgapur contract for the UK industry cannot be emphasised often enough, particularly as two similar steel works have been contracted by the Government of India, one with the Soviet Union, the other with the West-German Krupp-Demag concern.

India which has embarked on the path of large-scale economic development proves to be an important market for construction of big units. Among new contracts to be placed shortly and for which various countries are competing are complete works for the manufacture of heavy iron and steel castings and heavy forgings to be set up by The National Development Corporation. India also intends to build a second shipbuilding yard. UK has offered to send—under the Colombo Plan—a team of shipbuilders to advise India on this matter, and West Germany and the Soviet Union have offered India their assistance for this project, too.

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Economy of Underdeveloped Countries

By L. Delgado

IT appears that in India at present economists complain that modern economic theory is not applicable to underdeveloped areas. Two Indian economists, in a recent book,* have fallen into the error they wished to avoid. They have based the presentation of their case on the theories of the Classical School, reinforced by Marshall and Keynes. This school of thought is no longer professed anywhere in the West, yet the whole work is based on the assumption that western economics is dependent upon it, as explained in the final "Note on Current Systems of Analysis." No attempt is made to use the concept of equilibrium analysis, which is the modern approach to economic problems and which would have resolved many of the problems into which the authors have run.

It is not true that economic laws have one meaning in one area and another meaning elsewhere. Economic forces are of universal application—in all countries and at all times. In India as in the USA or in the USSR or China, the fundamental problem is how to use scarce resources to unlimited ends. It is true that different methods may have to be applied in backward countries to attain a given aim, but no new economic principle is involved.

Vakil and Brahmanand admit that the First Indian Plan has attained, and in fact surpassed, its objectives, but this, they say, was due to certain adventitious circumstances, notably a series of favourable monsoons, which are unlikely to repeat themselves. This view does less than justice to the authors of the Plan. It is complained that the increase in food production due to favourable weather was "frittered away" in the form of increased consumption instead of being used in capital projects. But this is inevitable in a country like India with a deplorably low standard of life. When a man is hungry he fills his belly. A factor not to be ignored is that food imports were to a large extent reduced, thus releasing currency for the purchase of capital equipment. Moreover, most cultivators are in debt, and good crops help to pay off the debt. In the East generally, and in India in particular, the Malthusian law of population works in its pure form, and to this extent the authors are right in looking to the Classics. The raising of the standard of life results in an increase in the birth rate. It thus becomes imperative to limit births in order to take advantage of the benefits that weather and capital equipment bring, but here we are breaking new ground.

The problem is that of attaining the optimum population. The optimum is a figure that varies with changes in the development of a country. In India at present the population, which is increasing because of medical care and because of greater productivity of the soil, is much above the optimum. If we could increase capital investment and the supply of

skilled labour much more quickly than the increase in the birth rate, the optimum would soon be reached. But this is not possible in an underdeveloped country: it is not so much the lack of capital as the want of the skills that make advancement possible. It seems an inescapable conclusion that the optimum will have to be attained through limiting the number of births, and to reinforce this with existing development plans.

The first problem to attack is that of improvident maternity, i.e. births to mothers who have already given birth to 3 or more children. In India 43 percent of all births fall under this category, compared with 34 percent in the case of Japan and 14 percent in the United Kingdom. It is this factor that colours the whole of Indian economy, and it is in the light of the concept of optimum population, neglected in the work before us, that we must study capital coefficients, savings, and investment.

This inadequacy of approach does not vitiate the contention of the authors that new techniques should be adopted in Indian planning. It has been a fault of western aid that this difference in methodology has not been sufficiently appreciated. Expensive machinery has been sent to the East which has been wasteful, either because the skilled personnel to work it and maintain it in order was not available in sufficient numbers or because appreciably the same results could have been obtained by much simpler machines or by using local methods with local labour. Thus at Etawa in the United Provinces the yield of the soil has been increased over a period of 4 years from 820lbs. to 2,175lbs. to the acre in the case of wheat, from 8,200lbs. to 18,200lbs. for potatoes, and from 1,375lbs. to 1,970lbs. for peas, by simple and inexpensive machines, wells, hand-pumps, fertilisers, and improved strains of seeds. This project, which covers an area containing nearly 200,000 people, was associated with the development of cooperatives, literacy classes, and the organisation of the people for capital formation by the utilisation of voluntary labour.¹ As agriculture employs some 80 percent of the population it will be appreciated how much this order of improvement—using comparatively little capital—will contribute to raising the standard of life. Once elemental food and clothing needs are satisfied the new purchasing power will be available for a multitude of consumer goods, helping Indian industry, while an appreciable surplus can be skimmed by taxation to provide much-needed funds for State capital projects. With its present organisation, agriculture hides a considerable amount of unemployment in industry.

The main problem in India is that of mass poverty, due to low productivity *per capita*. We have seen how the productivity of the largest sector of the community may be raised. With regard to poverty, much can be done by a re-

*Planning for an Expanding Economy by VAKIL and BRAHMANAND (Bombay: Vora 20s.)

¹ See ILO study *Problems of Wage Policy in Asian Countries*, 1956.

distribution of income. Marked inequalities of income exist in India, and it is possible to promote the material welfare of the lower income groups not only by expanding the volume of total national output but to some extent also by achieving a more equal distribution of income. But this latter, to be effective, must be accompanied by a corresponding shift in the pattern of output, i.e. less large domestic staffs and more food. But — and this is an example of the concept of equilibrium — food production must be expanded at least as rapidly as income is increased, otherwise food prices will rise and real income may fall.

For the Second Five Year Plan the outlay on agriculture and irrigation has been increased from Rs.767 crores* allocated in the First Plan to Rs.1,023 crores; for transport, from Rs.556 crores to Rs.1,384 crores, and to industries, from Rs.179 crores to Rs.891 crores (mainly on coal, steel, cement and fertilisers). The total investment for the Second Plan is estimated at Rs.6,200 crores, as compared with Rs.2,356 crores for the First Plan. Some of the difficulties involved in raising the necessary funds are apparent when we consider that the average income per family in India is only Rs.60 per month. The State is expected to contribute Rs.4,800 crores and the private sector the balance. The public sector hopes to raise the funds by various means, of which borrowing from the public is expected to bring in Rs.1,200 crores (of which Rs.500 crores from small savings), external aid Rs.800 crores, and deficit financing Rs.1,600 crores (including a "gap" of Rs.400 crores). Sterling balances may be drawn upon to the extent of Rs.200 crores. The government is concentrating on

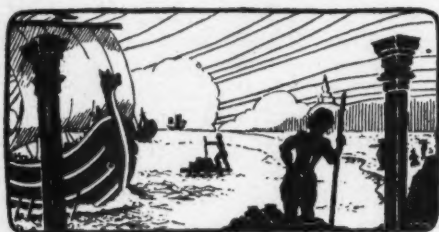
the production of capital goods, and is leaving the expansion in the output of consumer goods to the cottage and small-scale industries.

In the "alternative" suggested by the authors, dependence is placed upon forced savings as the means of capital accumulation. They estimate that the economy could procure Rs.300 crores of goods (mainly in agriculture) by sacrifices on the part of the workers. This can come only from a deterioration in the standard of living of the workers or by their refraining from enjoying the whole or part of their increased production. This smacks strongly of the Soviet system of capital formation, which the writers reject as unsuitable for their country. It may be defensible in a developed country during an emergency but in India, with 80 percent of the population engaged in agriculture with living standards among the lowest in the world, forced savings are neither desirable nor practical. It must be remembered that the Second Plan already foresees raising Rs.500 crores by way of small savings on a voluntary basis. It would be better to allow the standard of living of the masses to improve and to examine how far it would be possible to increase the taxation of the professional classes and of the wealthy, and so satisfy the canon of equity.

The authors are critical of the method of deficit financing and of the dependence placed on the cottage industries. Deficit financing is certainly a dangerous expedient and leads easily to inflation, but the danger may be escaped if the newly created capital continues to earn income at the same rate as during the First Plan, which the authors doubt. As for the expansion of cottage industries, this is entirely indefensible. Technological changes may result in some short-period unemployment, but this is no reason to encourage methods of production that are so patently inefficient. This is also the opinion of the International Bank's economic mission which recently visited India and of the Ford Foundation's examination of India's administrative system undertaken at the invitation of the Indian Government. Both of these authorities are critical also of the preference for joint Indian-foreign over wholly foreign-owned enterprises because foreign capital may become shy of investing in the country, and capital is one of the most vital of Indian needs. Foreign capital needs encouragement: there have been too many examples lately — some in India — of external capital being nationalised. Foreign oil companies, for instance, have invested no less than £56 million in India since independence. Vakil and Brahmanand have not much to say on this point or on the socialistic pattern in general.

This book constitutes a plea by two noted Indian economists for a fresh outlook on planning for underdeveloped areas, but not because accepted economic principles are invalid in their case, as they imagine, but simply because a different proportion of capital to labour is more suitable. The policies of capital formation *must* be different in countries where resources are so limited that the bulk of them are used up in meeting the basic consumption needs of the population.

* One crore of rupees = £750,000.



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Nuclear Development in Japan

By *Stuart Griffin* (EASTERN WORLD Correspondent in Tokyo)

JAPAN, which ushered in the atomic age at Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945, now strives, with US and British aid, to develop its own atom industry. Atomic tools for basic industries are already being tested and atoms are bringing about a "silent, invisible revolution" in agriculture, medicine and heavy industry. Two atomic merchantmen, powered by 30,000 h.p. atomic engines, costing \$90m. and \$150m. will be completed by 1966.

The new industry's primary objective is to produce locally atomic reactors, atomic fuels, construction materials for reactors. Furukawa Electric, Kawasaki Industry, and Kobe Steel have formed a syndicate known as "First Atomic Energy Group." Other potential competitors — Mitsui, Mitsubishi, Sumitomo, Hitachi and Nissan—have also shown their faces. Toshiba Electric has begun production of cyclotrons and other accelerating equipment. Mitsubishi Electric is collaborating with Kensai Power Development and Mitsubishi Heavy Industries, for blueprinting an atomic power generation plant.

Showa Denko and Hitachi Works are nearing heavy water production, while Kobe Industries specialises in atomic control devices manufacture. Nissan Chemicals experiments with methods of extracting uranium from phosphorous rock. Nine leading heavy machinery makers have jointly proposed home production of atomic motive power plant facilities to the Atomic Energy Commission. Some of these firms are also shipbuilders.

The race for commercialisation of atomic energy is on. A four-point programme has been devised by the Government's Ministry of International Trade and Industry: (1) investigation of atomic development outside of Japan; (2) construction of reactors for research; (3) research and investigation of vital facilities and materials; and (4) prospecting for local uranium resources.

Japanese have gone abroad to study, in America and Europe, even at Oak Ridge. An Atomic Energy Research Institute was set up to receive US—enriched uranium ore, to finalise a pact with the United States, and pursue development of the atom.

The National Diet has established the Atomic Energy Commission and the AEC Bureau of the Prime Minister's office. Plans exist to complete the following: a 50 kW. water boiler type reactor and a 1,000 kW. Chicago Pile No. 5 type reactor, both in 1957-58; a 10,000 kW. reactor, graphite moderated, heavy water cooled, natural uranium fuelled by 1958-59; a power demonstration reactor by 1959, and a 1,000 kW. swimming pool reactor, also by 1959.

The Government subsidises private firms and research groups. It renders aid in procuring such materials as heavy water, graphite, radiation instruments, etc. The AEC is redoubling its efforts to obtain atomic fuel, with demand rising in Japan's "atoms-for-peace" programme. Uranium from the US is insufficient and Japan seeks to import from Canada and the United Kingdom, and to develop uranium mines in Thailand. Plans for domestic uranium prospecting have been intensified, the budget boosted from 1956's

\$125,000 to 1957's \$555,555. Domestic production of metal zirconium is being pushed. And the hunt for uranium goes on in 11 of Japan's 46 prefectures.

Most significant is the announced development of a new method for extracting metallic uranium from poor uranium ores, for this will give the nation new hopes concerning its inferior uranium deposits. This evaporation uranium extraction method, using chloride treatment, is known as the "chlorination method" and is designed to heat pulverised ores in furnace temperatures from 700 to 800° C. The chief advantage is that the process especially applies to low-grade ores. And a five-year development plan will see Japan produce a total of 255 tons of uranium ore by the end of 1959, at a cost of about \$70m.

Ever since Cobalt 60 was introduced in 1952, firms here have been testing. Ishikawajima Heavy Industry is the leader, using a tiny tester described as a "headless duck, equipped with a handle" in appearance. Cobalt 60 testers are more popular than Iridium 192 devices. Their life span is far greater. Use of atomic energy in Japan has spread from iron and steel to textiles, with tests concluded for "hammering" synthetic fibres to amazing strengths. Hammering consists of bombarding fibres with powerful gamma rays. Vinyon fibre, as a result, now has almost the same tough durability as plain cotton yarn.

Japan's AEC chairman, Matsutaro Shoriki, feels that Japan must maintain "close relations" with the US, atomically speaking. The first three experimental atomic furnaces will come from America and AEC will probably buy an enriched uranium type reactor, in addition to a natural uranium graphite type coming from Britain. Japan will rely less on boiling water, sodium graphite, and pressurised water type units, however, concentrating instead on breeder and homogeneous types. But many in the industry feel Japan should turn more to the UK, and not the US because costs are cheaper, fewer strings are attached, secret clauses in treaties are not envisaged, and the British are even more advanced atomically than are the Americans.

The sole opposition to Japan's development comes from the militantly leftist Sohyo, the General Council of Japan Labour Unions. This body claims that US links would fetter Japan's domestic peaceful atomic energy development phase, and would this bring about Japanese reliance on foreign interests which would gain financial domination over a promising new industry. But there is no likelihood that the programme will be slowed down, let alone arrested.

In March in a hitherto unknown village—Tokai—85 miles north of Tokyo, Japan's first Atomic Energy Research Institute will be established. The scenically quiet farm village area, known as the "Muramatsu Seiran," one of the nation's eight most beautiful, classic landscapes, will be the hub of increasingly frantic activity. For Japan aims not only to dominate Asia atomically, but to rival its neighbours in the US and western Europe, who have a head start. Few who know Japan have ever seen the nation more eager, or more singleminded in its intent, short term and long range alike.

Holland's Far East Trade

HOLLAND'S trade with China continues to expand. Imports from China which were valued at Fl.23.6 million in 1954, and at Fl.30.8 million in 1955, reached the value of Fl.20.8 million during the first six months of 1956 as against Fl.15.2 million during the corresponding period of 1955. Among the 1956 main imports were peanuts (Fl.5.4 millions), soya beans (Fl.5.1 million), dried seeds and vegetables (Fl.2.7 million), vegetable oils (Fl.1.4 million), wool and other animal hair (Fl.0.9 million), and meat and meat products (Fl.0.8 million).

Holland's exports to China which increased from Fl.3.8 million in 1954 to Fl.11.1 million in 1955, amounted to Fl.6.6 million during the first half of 1956 as against Fl.7.6 million during the corresponding period of 1955. The 1956 exports included medicinal and pharmaceutical products valued at Fl.1.3 million and chemical products to the value of Fl.0.6 million.

While the 1956 exports to China show a decrease, Holland's exports to Hong Kong increased from Fl.16.1 million during the first half of 1955 to Fl.19.2 million during the same period of 1956. The 1956 main exports were tinned milk and cream (Fl.5.0 million), tinned meat and meat preparations (Fl.0.8 million), electric machinery, apparatus and appliances (Fl.1.2 million), starch products (Fl.0.7 million), dyes, paints and varnishes (Fl.0.4 million), animal fats and oils (Fl.0.7 million), margarine (Fl.0.5 million). Holland's imports from Hong Kong during the first half of 1956 remained at the same level as during the corresponding period of 1955, namely at Fl.4.2 million. The imports included tinned fruits, clothing, footwear, floor coverings.

Exports to Formosa increased to Fl.1.4 million during the first 6 months of 1956 as against Fl.0.7 million during the corresponding period of 1955, the imports from Formosa declined, however, from Fl.0.4 million to Fl.0.3 million during the same periods. Holland's exports to Japan during the first half of 1956 remained at the same level as in 1955 and amounted to Fl.18.3 million. Although the imports from Japan dropped from Fl.37.2 million in the first half of 1955 to Fl.27.6 million during the corresponding period of 1955, Holland still had an unfavourable trade balance in her trade with Japan.

The main imports from Japan included cotton goods (Fl.8.2 million), wood products (Fl.1.3 million), pottery (Fl.1.3 million), fish products (Fl.2.8 million), toys and sports goods (Fl.2.0 million) and textile waste (Fl.0.4 million). The main exports to Japan were animal fats and oils (Fl.3.6 million), sugar and sugar preparations (Fl.1.0 million), glass and glassware (Fl.0.9 million), zinc (Fl.0.7 million), mineral tar and crude chemicals from coal (Fl.0.8 million), electric machinery, apparatus and appliances (Fl.0.5 million), and cheese (Fl.0.6 million).

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JAPAN'S TEXTILE EXPORTS

By Henry Foster

THE major problem of growing populations and insufficient natural resources is common to many countries, and in Japan it will take many years to solve. In the meantime, all efforts are directed towards increasing self-sufficiency, and remarkable progress has been made in this direction since the end of the war.

A thoroughly-planned economy for 10 years has been so successful that such planning in the future will have the full confidence of the Japanese people. Not only has Japan achieved much industrially during this period, but she has also increased her living standard by more than 10 percent over pre-war levels. In this respect exports have played a major role and will, therefore, continue to be an over-riding preoccupation with all levels of the Japanese community.


In textiles, except wool, however, Japan is faced with the fact that relative to world consumption, international trade is shrinking. In the face of this Japan has already returned to the position of the world's No. 1 textile exporter. The greater part of the industry, particularly that section devoted to export production, is new, efficient, excellently equipped and very well managed. It is fitted for economical production and has reached an output level exceeded only by the United States. All planning, building and operations in the course of production are conducted at minimum possible

cost, and these factors have led to a progressive increase in productivity, reduction in unit costs and improvement in quality of output.

For labour, Japanese manufacturers can call on willing, deft and highly-productive people. This is due to a large extent to the ideal living conditions and amenities provided, which are generally first class. Labour exceeds demands and the result is willingness to work, loyalty, and a very small movement of labour except among women who leave to get married.

Although much of the produce of Japan's textile industry has been based on Western styles and types this does not mean that Japan lacks good designers. In fact, the main reason for such copying in the past has been a reluctance on the part of Western markets to accept original Japanese designs—a situation that the Japanese are trying to overcome. Japanese goods intended for export must have a certificate of quality and be stamped with a seal of approval. For this purpose there are a number of organisations working under Government supervision.

While exports are limited to goods of a basic minimum quality, a policy which acts as a form of restraint, there are also measures to promote exports with government direction and subsidy to an extent practised in few other countries.



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Heavy raw materials premiums given to exporters have been reduced but there is still some small export incentive in raw cotton supply and about 10 percent material premium in wool.

In 1954 Japan's wool textiles production totalled 174 million square yards. The industry that produced these goods has 48,000 employees and 2,540 plants, and during 1954 exported something like 11 percent of its output.

There is also a knitwear and hosiery section employing 43,000 at 3,619 plants and which produced 11.1 million dozen items. This section exported about 18 percent of its output in 1954, and, like the major part of the industry is composed of units ranging from small mills with one to twenty-nine workers to large plants with 300 and over.

Before the 1939-45 war worsted spindles in Japan totalled 1,177,000, today they number approximately 1,192,000, of which 78 percent are new. Woollen cards, which totalled 70 in 1939, now number 1,300 and 69 percent of these are new. Wool looms in Japan in 1939 totalled 31,000. In 1945 there were 10,000, and today 56 percent of the 22,600 looms are new. Consumption figures available show an increase of 6 percent in total and 23 percent per capita consumption in 1954 over 1934-36. There was a relative drop in textile consumption for industrial use but a total increase of 7 percent, and per capita of 33 percent, for clothing.

An important feature of the world textile industry over the last 20 years has been the decline in the amount moving in world trade as compared with world production, because many countries have become more self-sufficient by producing most of the textiles they use. It is estimated that about 12 percent of textile output was exported in 1953 as compared with 15 percent in 1938. Also there have appeared some important new competitors in world textile export trade—notably India, and the United States—which established their position during the early post-war period when Japan was still rebuilding her industry. Under these circumstances it is a remarkable achievement that Japan has now recovered her pre-war position as chief textile exporter.

This performance in a relatively shrinking international market gives some indication of the vigour of the Japanese drive to recover export trade. Over a longer period, however, it may well be that Japan, having staked so much on textile exports during the last decade, may find that textiles are now over-emphasized in relation to her other exports.

Countries which have established or materially expanded their own output to more fully supply domestic needs will not willingly relinquish that position, and there have already been numerous signs in many areas of restrictive reaction to the Japanese export drive. Moreover, there are other countries which are still in the process of expanding their domestic textile industries who will see that they have succeeded to their domestic markets as they expand.

Finally, there are competitors with Japanese export trade such as India, which is already of great concern to the cotton industry in Japan, and China—now taking business from Japan in Indonesia—which show every sign of continued export growth. There is real danger to Japan in continuing to base a large proportion of her hopes for the future on textile exports, but if she shows the same nimbleness as displayed in the last decade, there need be no great concern about her future export achievements, and domestic prosperity.

Hong Kong's Wool Trade

By Dudley Birks

HONG Kong's trade returns for 1955 are particularly interesting for they throw new light on the development of wool textile and clothing industries in the Colony.

The main economic significance of Hong Kong was formerly that of an entrepôt centre, but, since the decline in the Chinese trade, resources that had been devoted to commerce have been applied to industry. Although it has been well known that clothing and textile factories were growing up in Hong Kong no production statistics have been available. Trade figures can thus provide a very useful clue to the stage reached by this development.

Retained imports of semi-manufacturers have risen appreciably during the last three years. 1.7 million lb. of yarn was retained in the Colony last year, compared with 0.5 million lb. in 1953, though exports to South Korea still account for the greater part of the trade in yarn. Net imports of tops have increased still faster, from 0.3 million lb. in 1953 to 2.1 million lb. in 1955, and though total imports of tops are still below the 1953 figure, they now consist almost entirely of supplies for the Hong Kong industry, the re-export trade to China having largely disappeared. Even more striking is the growth of net imports of wool tissues, which indicates that Hong Kong is not merely producing wool textiles, but is pursuing the industrialisation process to the made-up clothing stage.

The import balance for wool tissues has risen from 5.5 to 8.4 million square yards, imports having expanded from 6.7 to 9.1 million square yards, while exports have dwindled from 1.2 to 0.7 million square yards. Most of the increase in imports has been in shipments from Japan, though the United Kingdom remains the leading supplier, and most of the decline in exports has been in sales to Japan, formerly the largest buyer.

For some time now the products of Hong Kong have received an almost unprecedented amount of publicity in the United Kingdom, chiefly due to the complaints of competitors. These have been on the basis of price, not quality, for Hong Kong can produce and ship to the United Kingdom some goods which can be sold in Britain at prices considerably lower than those of similar British products.

All indications are that the quality of Hong Kong wool goods—gloves are particularly prominent among them—continues to improve with almost every consignment. Although Hong Kong imports by the United Kingdom equal only 0.2 percent of her total purchases overseas, these imports are, nevertheless, hitting some small British industries at a time when they are not prepared for strong competition. There is, therefore, some justification for concern on their part. Another cause for concern is that Hong Kong's industrialisation appears to be proceeding rapidly and some British manufacturers fear the results over a longer period.

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Wool Consumption Increases

By Our Economic Editor

IT is estimated, that the total world consumption of wool came to 2,614 million lb. (clean basis) in 1955 as against 2,557 million lb. in 1954. In 1955, for the second year in succession, the United Kingdom was the world's largest individual consumer of wool (1954—462 million lb., 1955—475 million lb.), says "Wool Production and Trade, 1952-1956" (a report published by the Commonwealth Economic Committee, December 1956). Among Asian countries a significant increase of wool consumption took place in Japan, where it reached 121 million lb. in 1955, the annual average in the 1934-38 period having amounted to 108 million lb. The report stresses the fact, that unlike many other raw materials, wool is a commodity in which there is virtually a single world market.

The raw wool auctions in the United Kingdom and the three Southern Dominions (Australia, New Zealand and South Africa) establish what is, in effect a world price, and quotations in other parts of the world are normally adjusted in relation to this price. Since the successful liquidation of the wartime surpluses and the winding up of the Joint Organisation (UK—Dominions Wool Disposals Ltd.) the wool trade has been beset by no problem of unmanageable surpluses.

The place occupied by the wool industry and trade in the UK total economy can be seen from its share in the UK overall trade. During the first eleven months of 1956 UK imports of wool and other animal hair were valued

at £167.2 million or over 4.5 percent of the total UK imports valued at £3,582.5 million. During this period UK re-exported wool and other animal hair to the value of £15 million or over 11.5 percent of the UK total re-exports valued at £135 million. During the same period UK exports of wool and other animal hair and tops amounted to the value of £34.1 million, and those of woollen and worsted yarns and woven fabrics to £83.4 million, together to £117.5 million or over four percent of UK total exports valued at £2,918.9 million. In fact, the above-mentioned export figures of the wool industry are not complete as they do not include exports of various woollen goods, including knitted products, carpets, felt, etc., as well as export of woollen goods which are incorporated in other export goods.

UK wool trade with Australasia is a two-way traffic. During the first 11 months of 1956, UK imports of raw wool and other animal hair were valued at £167.2 million, and included those from Australia—£67.1 million, New Zealand—£35.5 million, India—£3.8 million, Pakistan—£1.7 million and China—£3.5 million. During the same period, out of the UK total exports of wool tops valued at £34.1 million exports to China were valued at £4.9 million, to India—£4.7 million, to Japan—£1.8 million, to Pakistan—£1.1 million, to Hong Kong—£0.6 million, and to Formosa £0.1 million. It is significant, that wool tops exports to all these markets, with the exception of Hong Kong, show an increase as against exports during the corresponding period of 1955.

UK exports of woollen and worsted yarns and woven fabrics, the total value of which amounted to £83.4 million included exports to New Zealand (£3.6 million), Hong Kong (£3.3 million), Japan (£2.7 million), Australia (£1.2 million), India (£0.4 million), Singapore (£0.3 million), Pakistan (£0.2 million), Indonesia (£0.2 million) and Burma (£0.1 million).

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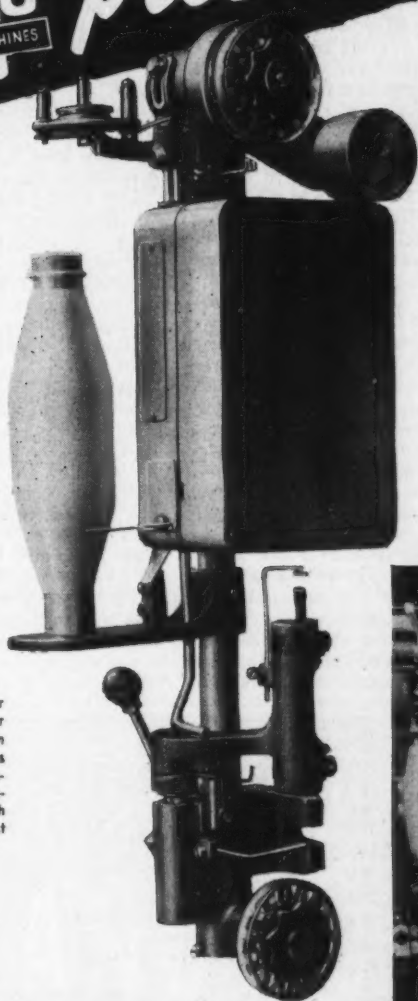
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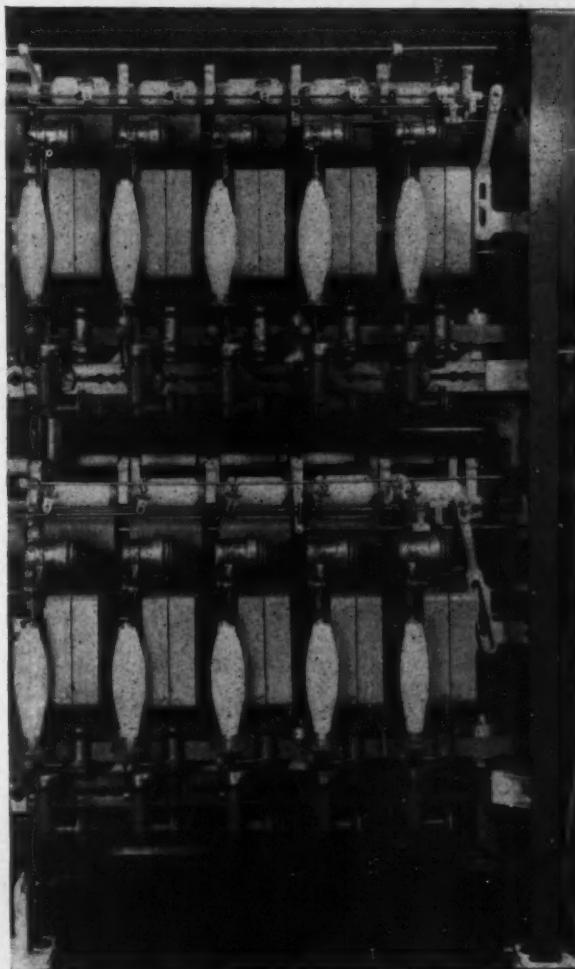
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TRADE, FINANCE AND INDUSTRIAL NOTES

Synthetic Petrol Plant

A scheme costing £15 million to manufacture synthetic petrol is being examined by the Indian Government, and initial investigations have confirmed that the project will be an economical proposition, since the cost of the principal raw material, coal, is very low in India. Although recent oil prospecting experiments have confirmed existence of larger deposits within the country, the Government has decided to pursue the synthetic petrol project, because the setting up of this will lead to the development of several other industries.

Indian Specialists in USSR

Groups of Indian specialists are now receiving six months' practical training at a number of Soviet iron and steel plants. They will subsequently work at the Indian iron and steel plant at Bhilai which is being built in cooperation with the Soviet Union.

An official of the USSR Ministry of the Iron and Steel Industry told press correspondents that 80 Indians had recently started practical training at plants in the Ukraine. In the main they were young graduates of various colleges and universities. Thirty-eight of them, chiefly specialists in rolling, were being trained at the Azovstal Works.

Thirty-three Indians were being trained at the Zaporozhstal plant, said the official, and other small groups of specialists were at a Krivoi Rog mill and at designing institutes in Moscow and Kharkov.

The training of Indian specialists will be considerably extended next year. More than 500 Indians are expected to receive training in the USSR.

Soviet-Burmese Economic Cooperation

Under a contract signed recently in Rangoon between the Soviet Techno-export organisation and the Burmese Corporation for the Development of Agriculture and Rural Areas, Soviet specialists will help in prospecting and designing work in connection with irrigation projects, in mechanising agricultural work, and in soil surveying and organising farm machine stations and state farms, and other problems.

Steel Plant for Pakistan

The Planning Commission of Pakistan has approved the construction of a steel plant at Multan with an initial production capacity of 70,000 tons of steel ingots a year, to be ultimately raised to 250,000 tons. Costing about £12.75 million (Rs.170 million) in the initial stage, it will use low-grade iron ore (of about 30 percent iron content) located in Kalabagh in West Pakistan, and the process of manufacture

proposed is the Krupp Renn process. Although high-grade iron ore (of about 60 percent iron content) has since been located in Chitral, it is at a height of 8,000 feet, which makes it uneconomical now. This ore also will be used as the Pakistani steel industry expands.

Australia to Export Tuna to UK

The South Australian tuna fishing and canning industry is already meeting with success in its plans for expansion. The General Manager of the South Australian Fishermen's Cooperative Limited, Mr. Fowler, said in Adelaide on December 10 that Australian canned tuna would be on the UK market next March or early April.

Mr. Fowler said it would be possible to sell the fish at competitive prices as a result of the Australian Government decision to allow a high-speed tuna packing machine to be imported from the USA. The machine is expected to be installed early in February in time for the main season.

Japan to Import Rayon for Tyrecord

As the production of car tyres advances a shortage in the supply of rayon for tyre cord is being keenly felt in the industrial world, and the Japan Auto Tyre Association has at last been obliged to approach the Ministry of International Trade and

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Industry for an approval for the importation of rayon for this specific purpose, to the amount of 1,200,000lb.

The continuous rise of the domestic and external demands for auto tyres acted as a sharp stimulant to their production, which has, therefore, been raised so fast and far that the rayon producers could not catch up with it. Rayon makers, however, do not seem very willing to expand their productive capacity to meet the enlarged demand for rayon coming from the tyre makers, until they have full confidence in the steadiness of the present incoming orders for products of this kind. Six major tyre makers in Japan, it is reported, estimated that during the three-month period from January through March next year the auto tyre industry will need some 6,860,000lb. of rayon for tyre cord whereas the total supply will be limited to 5,600,000lb., leaving 1,260,000lb. to be supplemented by imports from overseas markets. The Ministry approved the importation of the goods for this purpose for the volume of more than a million pounds.

Radio Telephone System for India

A contract for the first VHF Multi-channel Radio-telephone system in India has been placed with Marconi's Wireless Telegraph Company Ltd. by the Government of India on behalf of Western Railways. The order is for Multi-channel Terminal Units, Type HM.102, with

amplifying units and Multi-channel Terminal Units Type HM.104. Two radio-telephone links will be established, one between Bhavnagar and Surat, and the other between Jamnagar and Rajkot, in the Western Railways network.

New Broadcasting Station in the Far East

Brunei, on the north-west coast of Borneo, is to have its first broadcasting station. The Brunei State Council has approved plans for the establishment of a broadcasting system, and Marconi's Wireless Telegraph Company Ltd., of Chelmsford, England, have been entrusted with the survey, planning, installation and commissioning of the technical side of the project. The scheme includes the provision of a modern Broadcasting House in Brunei Town, a transmitting station at Tutong, and an additional small studio at Seria. A receiving station is also planned.

Shell Orders Gas Turbines for Borneo

Gas turbine generating sets have been ordered by Shell for an oilfield power station in Borneo. The gas turbine will burn the natural gas which is available from oilwells in large quantities. This type of plant uses little or no water and is, therefore, advantageous in regions where supplies of suitable water are limited. The additional power which they can provide will contribute towards the production of oil in the fields where they are installed.

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INDIA'S HEAVY INDUSTRIES—Continued from page 41

large number of technical personnel. It is, therefore, necessary that we should make arrangements for the training of all categories of technical personnel. In view of the large need of skilled workers and trained technical personnel, it will be necessary that cooperation of industries in training a minimum percentage of their normal strength of personnel—say 5 percent or more should be seriously considered. This will open up great opportunities for the young technicians of this country and will also directly help the process of industrialisation.

Although the Second Five Year Plan provisions have been drawn up in a bold manner providing for increasing tempo of economic activity in all sectors and fields of industrial development, the National Plan can, after all, be only a focal point for the various activities in different fields. In a country as large as India, if the organisational effort is directed towards harnessing all the available manpower, it is obvious that we could achieve tremendous results. Development in its very nature has got to be both intensive and extensive if it is to be self-propagating.

It is in this context that development including the development of industries must be spread over the national field as well as in the different regions. Thus regional economic development, particularly in the industrial sector, occupies as vital a role as the overall national development. It is the development of each region which will ultimately go to establish a balanced development and also a feeling of national satisfaction. Prosperity, like poverty, is indivisible. Thus the scope and opportunities for progress have got to be both intensive and extensive. Every district and State in this country has to strengthen its economic resources in order to make the country economically strong and healthy.

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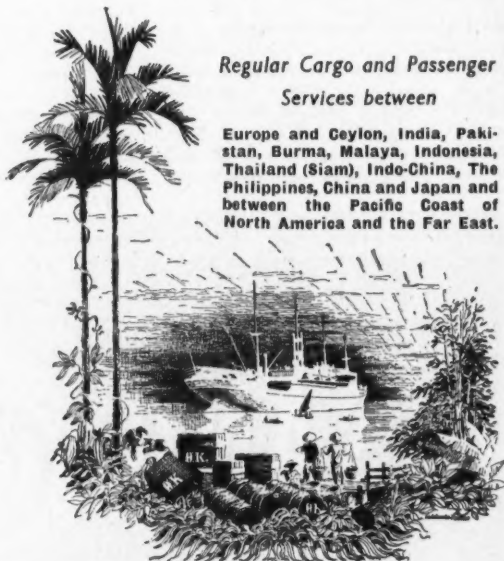


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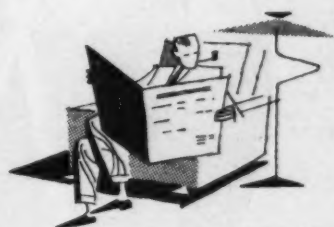
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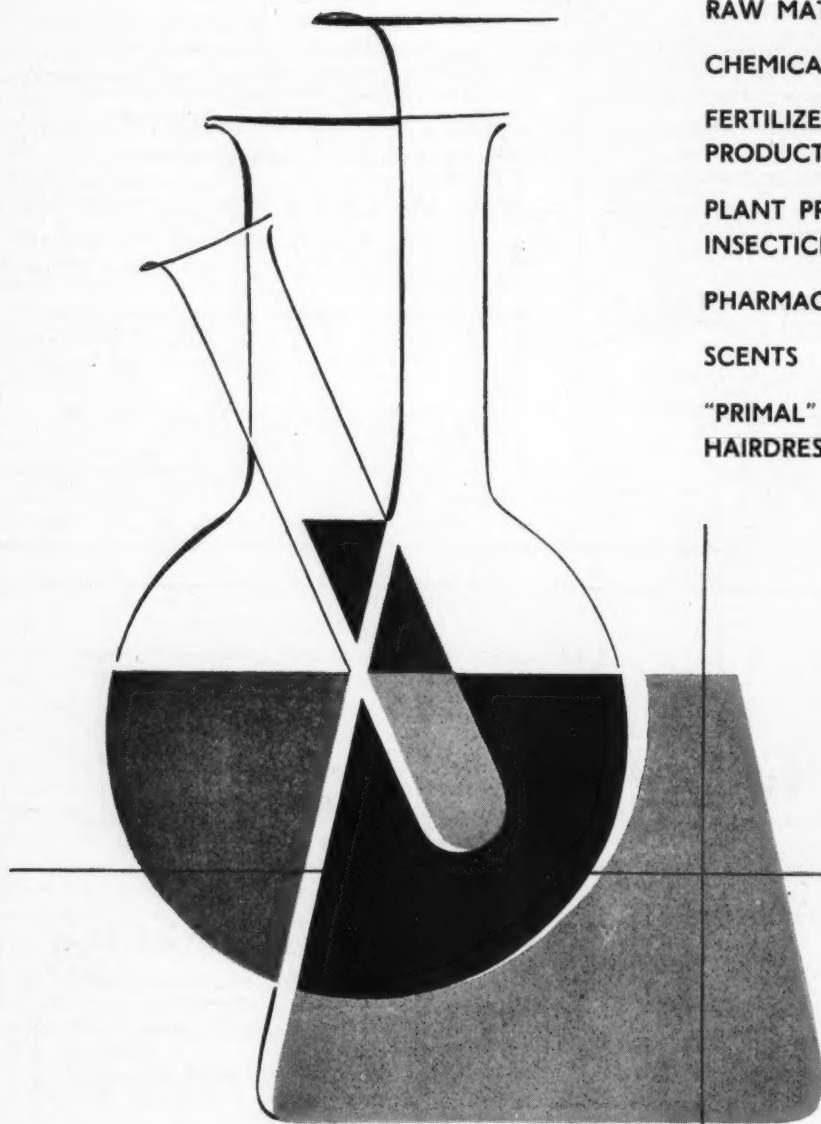
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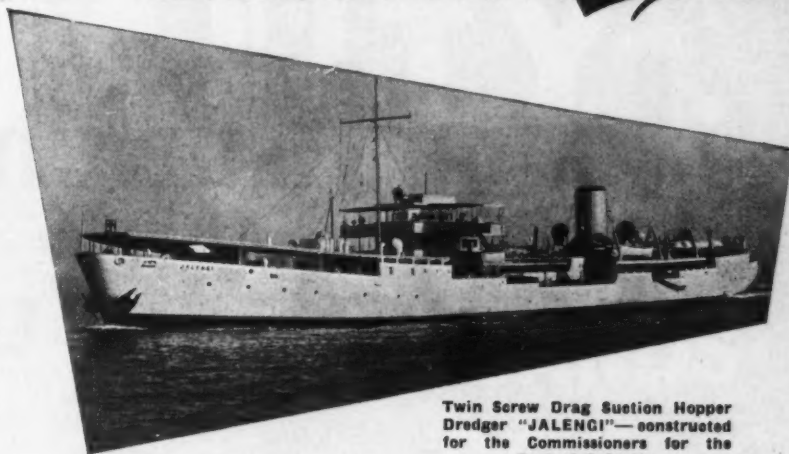
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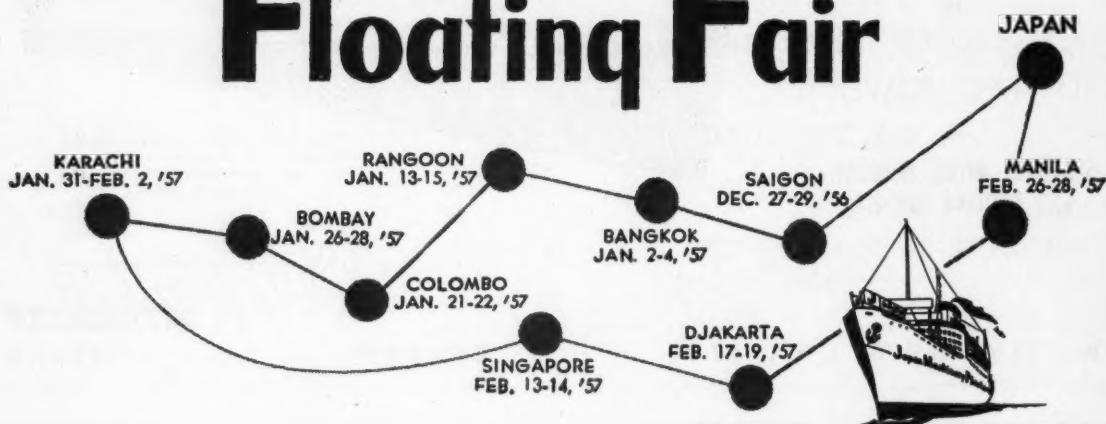
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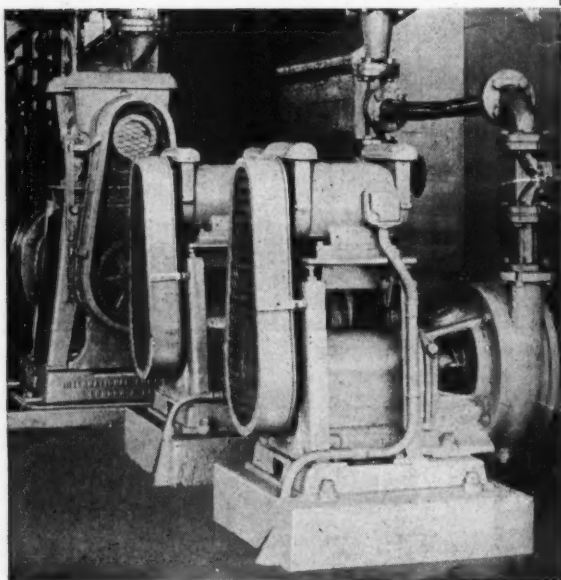
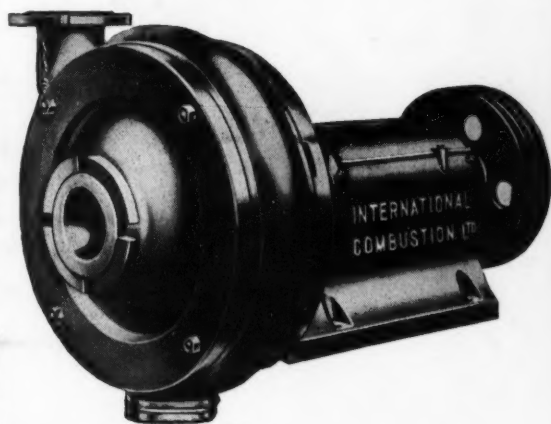
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